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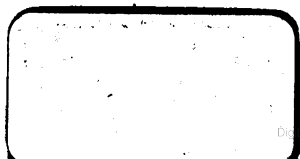
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Waldenses and Albigenes,
WHO BEGUN THE
REFORMATION,
IN THE VALLIES OF
PEIDMONT,
AND VARIOUS OTHER PLACES,
SEVERAL HUDRED YEARS BEFORE LUTHER.

By THOMAS TAYLOR.

*They were slain with the sword; they wandered
about in sheep skins and goat skins, being de-
stitute, afflicted, tormented: of whom the world
was not worthy; they wandered in deserts
and in mountains, in dens and caves of the
earth.*

HEB: xi. 37, 38.

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110. E. 467.

T H E

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

I have long aspired to know the state of true religion from the 5th, to the 14th Century, the time when John Huss and Jerom of Prague flourished and suffered in the flames for the truth, the former being burnt at the stake the 6th of July, 1415, and the latter on the 30th of May, 1416. The long interval of nine Centuries is very barren of real history that can be depended upon, it being a long dark night of ignorance and apostacy; the little learning which did exist being chiefly confined to the Monks, and what they set down for religion is only a crude heap of trifling ceremonies, and stupid legends, so that we must look elsewhere for the church, the real followers of Christ who tread in his steps, who renounce the world, the flesh and the devil, and who deny themselves and take up their cross daily.

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Finding

Finding therefore in the course of reading, very honourable mention made of the Waldenses and Albigenes, by very respectable Authors: I was thereby induced to make a more minute inquiry into their history, their rise and progress, their lives and doctrines, and the treatment which they met with in the world, and for what cause they endured all kinds of persecution, and against whom the princes of this world bent all their forces, to exterminate from the face of the earth, as the very pests of mankind, and such as were not fit to live.

The more I read, the more I admired their doctrines, spirit, temper, conduct and behaviour; and easily perceived they were the simple followers of him whose kingdom is not of this world, and of whom the world is not worthy; I found them to be the excellent of the earth, such as followed the Lamb wheresoever he led them; and bearing in their suffering bodies the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Christ was manifested in them, and by their mortified lives and pure doctrines they testified that the world and its deeds were evil.

That many of these were poor is not to be wondered at: for in them was literally fulfilled what is said, that,
“ No man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his

his name, (a) which is very particularly applied to them. So the canon of Lateran, under Pope Alexander the third, made against the Waldenses and Albigenses enjoins, upon pain of anathema, that no man presume to entertain or cherish them in his house or lend, or exercise traffic with them. The Synod of Tours, in France, under the same Pope, "Orders under the like intermination, that no man should presume to receive or assist them, no not so much as to hold communion with them in selling or buying; that being deprived of the comforts of humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the error of their way. (b)" From hence we need not wonder that they were poor. And as they first made their appearance in France, in and about the city of Lyons, they were called in derision, the poor of Lyons. But that they were not evil doers, we have the testimony of their enemies. Sancho Reinerus, an apostate, and a persecutor of the Waldenses in the thirteenth Century writes, Amongst all the Sects, none is more pernicious than that of the poor of Lyons (i. e. the Waldenses) for three reasons, 1. Because it is the most ancient. Some aver their existence from the days of Silvester; others from the very time of the Apostles. 2. Because it is so universal; for there is hardly a country into which this Sect

(a) Rev. xiii. 16, 17. (b) Usher. Newton's Desertations.

has not crept. 3. Because all others render themselves detestable by their blasphemies; but this has a great appearance of godliness, they living a righteous life before men, believing right of God, confessing all the articles of the creed, only hating the pope of Rome, &c. (a) *Such is the testimony of this virulent renegade, which is no small encomium on this persecuted flock of Christ when an avowed enemy and a violent apostate owns there was no other crime could be laid to their charge but that of hating Antichrist, and all his abominations.*

It seems pretty clear from various authorities, that they carried the pure reformation into Bohemia, even a Century before the time of John Huss, as early as 1170, and therefore existed long before they went by the name of Waldenses or Albigenses, yea several writers will have it that they never were tainted with the corruptions of Rome, but have kept themselves free from the Mother of Harlots all along. For when both the Greek and Latin Churches were abominably corrupted these poor sheep were scattered up and down in their obscure retreats, and now and then ventured out, when there was the least prospect of being any way useful, at the hazard, and often at the expence of their lives; so that in the midst of that general apostacy and darkness

(a) Crantz's History of the Brethren.

it

it is observed a real seed was still left. “ For just at that time, when the purity of the Greek church both in doctrine and in worship was daily declining, even among the people; the Waldenses in 1176 arrived at Bohemia. These joined those Bohemians, who were still tenacious of the rites of the Greek church. They shewed them the defects of their religious exercises; and introduced a purer knowledge of the Christian faith according to the word of God: By this means the upright were confirmed in the faith, and such as were fallen asleep, again awakened. These united Waldenses and Bohemians held, in many places, their private; in others public meetings; and sent missions from Bohemia to England, Hungary, Brandenburg, Pomerania, &c. assisted their suffering brethren of the Waldenses in their distress, and supplied them with ministers from the seminary of their brethren in Italy, whither, as to an university, they sent their youth from Bohemia. This continued above two hundred years till 1391, when being discovered through the imprudence of two of their preachers, they were cruelly persecuted, and, for the most part despersed abroad in the adjacent countries!” (a)

From hence we see the origien of the reformation, even in England, which I make no doubt begun to dawn

(a) Strousky de Répub. Bohem.

in

in the time of the Conqueror. For we are informed that
“ he would not permit any one in his power
to buy or sell any thing whom he found disobedient
to the apostolic see.” (a)

Some have thought that the Waldenses and Albigenes
were the two witnesses spoken of in the eleventh chapter
of Revelations, thus says Bishop Newton, “ But the
true witnesses, and as I may say, the Protestants
of this age were the Waldenses and Albigenes,
who began to be famous at this time, and being
dispersed into various parts and places, were dis-
tinguished by various appellations. Their first and
proper name seemeth to have been Vallenfes, or
inhabitants of the valleys; and so saith one of the
oldest writers, Ebrord, who wrote in the year 1212
they call themselves Vallenfes, because they abide
in the valley of Tears, alluding to their situation in
the valleys of Peidmont; they were called Albi-
genfes from Albi, a city in the southern parts of
France, where also great numbers of them were
situated.” (b) He then gives us a pretty large Ab-
ſtra& of their Creed from Perrin’s History, a part of
which will be found in the ensuing History. Nay, the
Bishop looks upon Waldo to be the Angel which pro-
claims the fall of Babylon, or Rome in Rev. xiv. 8.

(a) Ex Uſſerio de Succell. Eccleſ. Cap. 7.

(b) Diſſertation on Rev. xi.

“ But

“ By this second Angel proclaiming the fall of the mystic Babylon or Rome, we understand particularly Peter Valdo, or Waldo, and those who concurred with him, the Waldenses and Albigenses; who were the first heralds, as I may say, of this proclamation, as they first of all in the twelfth Century pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic Babylon, the Mother of Harlots, and abomination of the earth; and for this cause not only departed from her communion themselves, but engaged great numbers also to follow their example, and laid the first foundation of the Reformation.” (a)

I judge they were branches of the same tree who were put to death in England under Henry II. Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. as heretics; and from them Wickliffe and John Huss, Jerom of Prague received their light, which shone out in such lustre as to enlighten all Europe, and I hope will shine more and more to the perfect day.

We find they underwent the same calumnies and reproaches which have been the lot of the Saints in all ages, namely, their assembling in the night, and putting out the lights, and in the dark perpetrating the most filthy

(a) Deffert. on Rev. xiv.

crimes,

crimes ; their raising disturbances in the world, and breaking the peace of society, being disobedient to the civil powers, and raising factions and rebellions, and the like ; and many believed, or pretended to believe those gross slanders. The matter of fact was this, through the violence of persecution, they were necessitated to meet in the night, in remote and solitary places, to hear the gospel, and to commemorate their Saviour's death in the communion ; to render them odious their enemies invented those vile slanders partly to discourage them from meeting together for the above purposes, and partly to blacken and render them odious to all, so that there might be an apology for plundering and destroying them from the face of the earth.

As for their being rebellious, and disturbers of public tranquillity, that is an old slander. Elijah was deemed a troubler of Israel. (a) Jeremiah was treated much in the same manner. (b) So our Lord, the Prince of Peace, was charged with stirring up rebellion. (c) So were his Apostles charged with turning the world upside down, (d) and being pestilent fellows and movers of sedition. (e)

Thus were the venerable puritans charged as well as

(a) 1 Kings xviii. 17. (b) Jer. xxvi. (c) Luke xxiii. 1-6.

(d) Acts xvii. 6. (e) xxiv. 5.

the

the Waldenses, and stale and thread bare as it is, it is still hacknied even in the present days. The matter of fact here is, neither Satan nor carnal men love the truth; it makes against them, and stirs up the carnal mind which is enmity against God: They rage and storm against it, because it disturbs their lusts and passions, or sinful interests; so like Nero who set Rome on fire and then charged the crime upon the Christians, it is still so with the enemies of truth, they hate the light, and raise up all the outrage they possibly can against it, and thus criminate the innocent. Senseless calumnies of the same nature still continue, and no wonder; for Satan will fight for his ancient dominion, and will stir up his trusty Servants. He that is born after the flesh will persecute him that is born after the spirit; and if they cannot make use of prisons, racks and tortures, wild beasts, fire and faggots, they will say all manner of evil against the followers of our Saviour: Indeed he developes the whole affair in his address to his carnal brethren. "The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that its deeds are evil." (a) And again, to his disciples, "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because I have chosen you out of the world therefore the world hateth you." (b) Here is the true source of all persecution, enmity and hatred to Christ, the adorable Saviour.

(a) John vii. 7. (b) Chap. xv. 19.

And

And here let me caution my reader, to beware of the smallest tincture of an-intolerant, narrow bigotted spirit. You may be a churchman, a dissenter of any description, and you have a right so to be, it is the birth right of every human being; but then, you must remember another has exactly the same right that you have; you have no more right to force their conscience than they have to force yours.

It is that cruel, intolerant spirit which has kindled the flames of rage and persecution, in every age and country. to the very great reproach and scandal of the christian name, and is as contrary to the spirit of our Saviour as darkness is to light.

I shall not exhibit a pompous catalogue of Authors who have treated more or less upon these morning stars of the Reformation, as that would avail very little to the generality of readers; nor should I have swelled this introduction to such an extent, only I thought it eligible to present the reader with the thoughts of such men as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Newton, &c. and as I have a pointed dislike to notes, I could not well introduce them in the Body of the History, therefore I judged it best to present them here in the introduction.

The Authors which I have chiefly followed are Perrin of Lyons, and Liennard, who seem to have taken

no

no small pains to investigate the real characters of those valient champions of the faith, experience and practice of the gospel.

I greatly admire their exceeding clearness in the essentials of religion, and the more so, if we consider the times in which they lived, viz. before the art of printing was found out, consequently Books, even the Bible itself, very scarce, especially if we consider them driven up and down into mountains, dens and caves, as the filth of the world, and the offscouring of all things: I say, considering all these amazing disadvantages I can but admire their clearness in the essential truths, as is apparent to every one who will peruse the abstract of their catechism which I have published; they may be called the Methodists of their day. O, may we imitate their well tried patience; their Christian courage; their fervent zeal; sincerity and uprightness in the cause of their Saviour: So that we may follow them, as they followed their crucified Redeemer.

Bolton Oct. 2, 1793.

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THE



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WALDENSES, &c.

CHAP. I.

*God at all times has had his Witnesses. The time
when Waldo began to teach.*



OD hath never left himself without witnesses, but from time to time hath raised up instruments to publish his grace to ruined Sinners, enriching them with necessary gifts for the edification of his Church, giving them his holy Spirit for their guide, and his truth for a rule, to the end they may discern the Church which began in *Abel*, from that which began in *Cain*. As

also teaching them to define the Church by faith, and the faith by the Scriptures, strengthening them in the midst of their greatest persecutions, and making them to know, that the cross is profitable, so long as the faithful change by that means, earth for heaven, and the children of God are not lost when being massacred and cast into the fire by a course of justice, or rather injustice, we may find in their blood and ashes the seed of the Church.

That which hath been observed in all ages, hath after a more particular manner appeared amongst those Christians called *Waldenses*, who were raised in a time when Satan held men in ignorance; having wrapped the greatest part of those that called themselves Christians in that great sin of the world, I mean idolatry; kings and princes imploying their authority for the establishment thereof, appointing all those to the slaughter that would exempt themselves from the punishment due unto idolaters.

This was about the year of our Lord 1160, at which time death was inflicted upon all those that did not believe that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was in the Host under the accidents of the bread, yea the very body, as large as it was upon the cross; the bread vanishing, and being transubstantiated into the flesh of Christ. At that time it was likewise enjoined to adore the Host, to bow the knee before it: yea it was called God, and men did
beat

beat their breasts before it, and locked it up in a box to worship it, as they still do even at this day.

This doctrine being altogether unknown to the Apostles, who never spoke a word of any such mystery, occasioned many Christians to enter into a detestation thereof, chusing rather to suffer a temporal death by resisting Idolatry, than by consenting thereunto to suffer in hell.

Peter Valdo, or *Waldo* a citizen of *Lyons*, shewed himself most courageous in the opposition of this invention, taxing therewithal divers other corruptions, which with time crept into the Church of Rome, affirming that she had lost the faith of Jesus Christ, that she was that whore of Babylon, spoken of in the book of Revelations.

That we were not to obey the Pope, in as much as he was not the head of the Church.

That Monkery was the mark of the Beast.

That Purgatory, Masses, dedication of Temples, worshiping of Saints, commemoration of the dead, were no other than the inventions of the devil, and the snares of Avarice.

Waldo was so much the more attentively hearkened unto, because he was in high esteem for his learning and piety, as also his great bounty towards the poor, not only nourishing their bodies with his material

B 3.

bread,

bread, but their souls with spiritual, exhorting them principally to seek Jesus Christ the true bread of life.

Many Authors write, that he had a resolution to lead an unblameable life, approaching as near as he could to that of the Apostles, and that upon a mournful accident that fell out unexpected, which was this. Being one evening in the company of some of his friends, after supper one of the company fell down dead upon the ground, with which sudden accident *Waldo* was touched to the quick, and by this dart of God's justice was wrought to an extraordinary amendment of life, applying himself wholly to the reading the Scriptures, seeking therein the way of salvation, and sometimes consulting the writings of the ancients, he continually instructed those poor people that resorted unto him for alms.

The Archbishop of *Lyons* being advertised that *Waldo* made profession of teaching the people, boldly blaming the vice, luxury, excess and arrogance of the Pope and his Clergy, inhibited him from teaching, especially for that he being a lay person, he exceeded the limits of his profession, and therefore that he should not continue under pain of excommunication, and proceeding against him as against an Heretick.

Waldo replied, that he could not hold his peace in a matter of so great importance as the salvation of
men,

men, and that he would rather obey God, than man.

Upon this answer the Archbishop endeavoured to have him apprehended, but could not, because *Waldo* having many relations and friends, was beloved of many, and so remained privately in *Lyons*, by the favour and protection of his friends for the space of three years.

Pope *Alexander*, the third, having understood, that in *Lyons* there were divers persons that cailed in question his sovereign authority over the whole Church, fearing that this beginning of rebellion might give some blow to his dignity and power, cursed *Waldo* and his adherents, and commanded the Archbishop to proceed against them by ecclesiastical censures, even to the utter extirpation of them.

Other things we cannot learn of this first persecution, but only that they who escaped out of *Lyons*, who from *Waldo*, were called *Waldenses*, followed him, and afterwards did spread themselves into divers countries and places.

CHAP. II.

That the dispersion of Waldo and his followers, was the means that God used to spread the gospel almost throughout all Europe.

WALDO retired from *Lyons*, into the mountains of *Dauphiny*, with certain persons capable of receiving the impressions of his belief.

Vignier

Vignier saith, that he retired into *Picardy*, where in a short time, he did so much good, that there were divers persons that did adhere unto his doctrine, and suffered great persecution. For king *Philip Augustus* excited by Ecclesiastical persons, took arms against the *Waldenses* of *Picardy*, raised and overthrew three hundred houses of gentlemen that followed their party, and destroyed certain walled towns, pursuing them into *Flanders*, whither they were fled, and caused a number of them to be burnt.

This persecution forced many to fly into *Germany*, where shortly after they were grievously persecuted, by the Bishops of *Mayence* and *Straßburgh*, who caused to be burnt in the town of *Bnigne* thirty five Burgesses of *Mayence* in one fire, and at *Mayence* eighteen, who with great constancy suffered death. And at *Straßburgh* fourscore were burnt at the instance of the Bishop of that place. These persecutions multiplied in such sort by the edification that they received who saw them die, praising God, and assuring themselves of his mercy, that notwithstanding the continual persecutions, there were in the county of *Passau* and about *Bohemia*, in the year 1315, to the number of 80000 *Waldenses*, and *Bohemians* that made profession of the same faith. They had likewise goodly Churches in *Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Hungary*, as *Math. Paris* reports, instructed and governed by one *Bartholomew* born at *Carcasson*. The *Albigenses* on the other side professing the

the same faith, have filled many other countries, till in the end, they were almost wholly extirpated, as shall appear in their particular History.

C H A P. III.

By what names the Waldenses have been called by their adversaries : and with what faults and offences they have been charged.

THE Monks, Inquisitors, and mortal enemies to the *Waldenses*, laid upon them many opprobrious imputations, affirming them to be the authors of all the heresies in the world; imputing all those monstrous abuses that they had forged only to the *Waldenses*, as if they only had been the receptacle of all errors.

First, therefore they called them, from *Waldo*, *Waldenses*; of the country of *Albi*, *Albigenses*.

And because such departed from *Lyons* spoiled of all human means, in derision they called them the beggars of *Lyons*.

In *England* they were called *Lollards*, from the name of one *Lollard* who taught there.

In *Provence* they were called *Siccars*, a word for Pedlers in French, which signifies Cutpurse.

In

In *Italy* they were called *Fratricelli*, as much as to say, Brothers, because they lived in love and concord together.

And because they observed no other day of rest but the Sabbath days, they called them *Insabatbas*, as much as to say, they observed no Sabbath.

And because they were always exposed to continual sufferings, from the Latin word *Pator*, which signifieth to suffer, they called them *Patarenians*.

And for as much as like poor passengers, they wandered from one place to another, they were called *Wanderers*.

In *Germany* they were called *Gazares*, as much as to say, execrable and egregiously wicked.

In *Flanders* they were called *Turlupins*, that is to say, dwellers with wolves, because by reason of their persecutions they were constrained many times to dwell in woods and deserts.

Sometimes they were called by the names of those countries and regions where they dwelt, as of *Albi*, *Albigensis*; of *Thoulouse*, *Thoulousians*; of *Lombardy*, *Lombards*; of *Picardy*, *Picards*; of *Lyons*, *Lyonsists*; of *Bohemia*, *Bohemians*.

Sometimes to make them more odious, they made them confederates with ancient heretics, but yet under
more

more than ridiculous pretexts, for because they made profession of purity in their lives, and of faith, they called them *Cathares*. And because they denied the bread, which the priest shewed in the Mass, to be God, they called them *Arians*, as denying the affinity of the eternal Son of God. And because they maintained that the authority of Emperors and Kings depended not upon the authority of the Pope, they called them *Manicheans*, as appointing two Princes, one good, and the other bad.

Sometimes they spitefully abused them. *Matthew Paris* calls them *Ribalds*. The compiler of the *Treasure of Histories* calls them *Buggerers*. *Rubis* saith, that when a man speaks of a sorcerer, he calls him *Waldense*. And that which is more, he takes upon him to prove they are so. To which temerity it shall be necessary to answer in its due place, where they shall be cleared from all those slanders which their enemies have laid upon them, out of those books from which we have gathered that which followeth.

First, they impose upon them, that ancient calumny wherewith the Christians of the Primitive Church were defamed, that is, that they assembled in the night time, in corners and lurking holes, and that the Pastor commanded the lights should be put out, saying, *Qui potest capere capiat*, that is, catch who catch can; whereupon every man endeavoured to fasten upon whom he could, without any respect of blood or parentage; and that the lights being put out, they

they committed abominable incests; many times the son with his mother, the brother with his sister, and the father with his own daughter: adding moreover, that they were to understand, that the children so begotten were most fit to be Pastors. These and many calumnies and slanders were cast upon them falsely for Christ's sake.

CHAP. IV.

How the Waldenses are justified and cleared from the calumnies contained in the former Chapter, by those writings which they have left.

THE *Waldenses* of *Bohemia*, whether they were the remainder of that people that followed *Waldo*, as some are of opinion that he ended his days in *Bohemia*, after he had retired out of *Germany*, and escaped the hands of the Bishops of *Mayence* and *Strasburgh*, or whether they were such persons as afterwards professed the same faith which the *Waldenses* did, it is without all doubt that they were grievously persecuted by *Eadislaus* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*: and there is still extant, an Apology of the said *Waldenses*, which they sent unto the king, to justify themselves against sundry complaints which were made against them by their adversaries: as also a book with this inscription, *The cause of our separation from the Church of Rome*. And for as much as the answer to

to the first calumny, that is, that they assembled themselves in dark corners, where the candles being put out, their adversaries do affirm they committed vile incests, we have copied out the answer of the said Apology in their own language, the translation of a part of it is as follows.

Among other things our enemies publish, that we take our pleasures in dark caves and corners, with whomsoever shall present themselves unto us, whether they be our mothers, or daughters, or wives or sisters.

How true this is, may appear in, that God having kept and preserved us for above these forty years past, it never has been known that there hath been any whoredom amongst us that hath escaped punishment, or any such villany committed. Therefore our lives and carriages condemn those that accuse us.

And for as much as the *Waldenses* speak this of themselves, and to their own praise, and therefore this their justification may seem but weak, look a little into that which they have written elsewhere against whoredom, which may suffice to shew, that they were very far from this diabolical affection to debase themselves by incests. The sin of luxury, say they, is very pleasing to the devil, but displeasing unto God, and injurious against our neighbours; because therein a man obeyeth the basest part of his body, rather than God who hath preserved it. He that is given to this vice keeps faith to no man, and therefore *David* caused his faithful servant to be slain, that he might enjoy his wife.

C

Amos

Amon defiled his sister *Tamar*. This vice consumed the heritage of many, as it is said of the prodigal son, that he wasted his goods living riotously.

Balaam made choice of this abomination to provok the children of Israel to sin, by which there died twenty four thousand persons.

This sin was the cause of the blindness of *Sampson*: it perverted *Solomon*: and many have perished by the beauty of a woman. Prayer, fasting, and distance of place, are the remedies against this sin. For a man may overcome other vices by combating with them, but in this a man is never victorious but by flying from it, and not approaching near unto it: whereof we have an example in *Joseph*. It is therefore our duty to pray daily to the Lord, that he will keep us far from the sin of luxury, and give us understanding and chastity.

Against the second calumny, that they maintain that a man may put away his wife when it pleaseth him, they say, that marriage is a knot that cannot be untied but by death, except it be for fornication, as our Saviour Christ saith. And St. *Paul* 1 Corint. 7. saith, That the wife is not to depart from her husband, nor the husband from his wife.

To the third calumny, touching the community of goods and wives, they say concerning marriage, that it was ordained by God long since in the terrestrial Paradise,

Paradise, and that it is a good remedy against whoredom. And that St. Paul speaking thereof saith, *Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband*: As also, that the husband ought to love his wife, as Christ loved his Church, and the married couple ought to live together in holiness with their children, bringing them up in the fear of God.

As touching goods, every man hath possessed his own proper substance at all times and in all places. In *Dauphiny*, when the Archbishops of *Ambrun*, and *Rosheim*, had spoiled them of their goods: When the lord of *Argentiere*, and *Montinar*, and *Arreas* of *Bonne*, had dispossessed the *Waldenses* that dwelt in the valley of *Fraissimere* and of *Argentiere*, of their goods and possessions, the restitution of every man's inheritance was prosecuted by the particular persons from whom they had taken them. The *Waldenses* of *Provence* do demand at this present of the Pope, the goods and lands which have been annexed to their demain, and taken from them by confiscation, every particular person making oath for every part and parcel of goods and lands which had descended upon them from their ancestors the *Waldenses*, time out of mind, they never having had any such community amongst them, that might any way derogate from that lawful propriety which every one had to his own lands.

The calumny touching Baptism, which, it is said, they denied to little infants: but from this imputation they quit themselves as follows;

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True it is, that being constrained for certain years, to suffer their children to be baptized by the Priests of the Church of *Rome*, they deferred the doing thereof as long as they could possibly, because they had in detestation those human inventions which were added to that holy Sacrament, which they held to be pollutions thereof. And for as much as their Pastors, which they called Barbes, were many times abroad employed in the service of their Churches, they could not have the Sacrament of Baptism administered to their infants by their own Ministers: for this cause they kept them long from Baptism, which the Priests perceiving, and taking notice of, charged them thereupon with this neglect: which not only their adversaries have believed, but divers others who have well approved of their life and faith in all other points. Every other calumny is confuted, in the same apology but is too long to be entirely inserted,

But it may not be amiss to add the testimonies given to the piety of the *Waldenses*, by divers of their adversaries themselves.

Jacobus de Riberia, who in his time gave aid to the persecution of the *Waldenses*, saith, that they held a long time the higher place in *Gallia Norbona*, in the Diocese of *Albi*, *Rhodes*, *Cabers*, and *Agen*, and that in those times Priests and Bishops were in little esteem, because the said Priests, for the most part, were either unworthy or ignorant: and therefore

fore it was an easy matter for the *Waldenses*, saith he, to get the upper hand amongst the people, for the excellency of their doctrine

Rainerius a Jacobin Monk, and a cruel Inquisitor of the *Waldenses*, thinking to darken their reputation, because they usually read the Scriptures, saith, that when the *Waldenses* would give knowledge of their doctrine, they alledged many things, touching chastity, humility, and other virtues; shewing that we are to fly all vice and wickedness, alledging the words of Christ and his Apostles, inasmuch that they seemed rather like Angels than men,

He addeth, that they taught what manner of men the disciples of Christ ought to be, out of the words of the Gospel and the Apostles, affirming that they only were the successors of the Apostles who imitated them in their lives, *which is a very great truth*. Concluding hereupon, saith he, that the Pope, the Bishops, the Clergy that enjoy the riches of this world, and imitate not the sanctity of the Apostles, are not the governors of the Church: it not being the will of Christ to commit his Church to such kind of people, that should rather prostitute her by their bad examples and wicked actions, than to present her a chaste virgin, in the same purity they have received her from him; and therefore that we are not to obey them. He addeth moreover, that they lived very religiously in all things, their manners well seasoned, and their words

wise and polished, always speaking of God and his Saints, perswading to virtue, and to hate sin, to the end that they might be in greater esteem with good men.

Claud. de Seiffel Archbishop of *Turin*, gives this testimony of the *Waldenses*, that as touching their life and manners, they have been always sound and unreprouvable, without reproach or scandal amongst men, giving themselves, according to their power, to the observation of the Commandments of God.

The Cardinal *Baronius* attributeth to the *Waldenses*, of *Tholouse* the title of good men, who tells us they were a peaceable people ; however he elsewhere imputeth unto them sundry crimes, and that very falsely.

As touching erudition, *Rainerius* hath said, that they teach their children, yea, even their daughters, the Epistles and the Gospels. *Jacobus de Riberia* saith, that they were so well instructed in the Scriptures, that he hath heard a plain countryman repeat the book of *Job* word by word, and diverse others that could perfectly repeat the whole New Testament.

The Bishop of *Cavaillon* in the time of the great persecution against the *Waldenses* of *Merindall* in *Provence*, of which we shall speak in due place, appointing a certain Monk, a Divine, to enter into conference with them, to convince them of their error, before, saith he, we come to violence : but the Monk being much perplexed,

perplexed, retired himself, saying, that he had not profited so much in his whole life in the Scriptures as he had done in those few days of his conference with the said *Waldenses*, in examining the Articles of their Confession by the passages of Scripture cited by them. The Bishop not being satisfied by this trial, sent a company of young Doctors, that came lately from *Sorbone*, to confound them by the subtilty of their questions. But there was one among the rest, that said at his return with a loud voice, that he had learned more touching the doctrine necessary to salvation, in attending to the answers of the little children of the *Waldenses*, in their catechizings, than in all the disputations of divinity which he had ever heard in *Paris*. *Let all parents note this,*

Lewis XIIth King of France having been informed, by the enemies of the *Waldenses* dwelling in *Provence*, of many grievous crimes which were charged upon them, sent to make inquisition in those places, the Lord *Adam Fumee* master of Requests, and a Doctor of *Sorbone* called *Parui*, who was his confessor. They visited all their Parishes and Temples, and found neither images, nor so much as the least shew of any ornaments belonging to the Mass and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, much less any such crimes as were imposed upon them; but rather that they kept their Sabbaths duly, causing their children to be baptized according to the order of the primitive Church, teaching them the Articles of the Christian faith and the Commandments of God. The king hearing the report of

of the said Commissioners, said, that they were better men than he or his people.

Francis the first, and successor to Louis XIIth, understanding that the Parliament of Provence had laid heavy burthens upon the Waldenses dwelling at Merindol and Cambriers, and other places thereabout, desired to be informed of the belief, life, and conversation of the said Waldenses, and to that end commanded William de Belay, Lord of Langsay, at that time his Lieutenant in Piedmont, to make a diligent inquiry into those affairs: whereupon the said Lord sent into Provence two honest reverent men, to whom he gave in charge to make inquiry both of the lives and religion of the Waldenses, as also of the proceedings of the Court of Parliament against them. These two deputies to the Lord de Langsay reported that the greatest part of the country of Provence did affirm, that the said Waldenses were a kind of people very painful, and that about two hundred years since they departed from the country of Piedmont, and came to dwell in Provence, and taking upon them the profession of husbandmen and shepherds, they made many villages that were destroyed in the wars, and other desert places, very fertile by their labours. And that they had found by informations in the said country of Provence, that the aforesaid men of Merindol were a peaceable people, beloved of their neighbours, men of a good and godly conversation, careful to keep their promises, and to pay their debts without suits of law, ver-

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ry charitable, not suffering any amongst them to fall into want and beggary, liberal to strangers and poor travellers, to the utmost of their power: As also that the inhabitants of *Provence* did affirm that they of *Merindol* were known from others of the country, because they could never be perswaded to blaspheme, or so much as to name the devil, or in any sort to swear, except it were upon certain contracts or in judgment. And that they were likewise known by this, that whenever they fell into company of such as used either idle, wanton, or blasphemous discourse against the honour of God, they presently departed.

Thus you see how many of the adversaries of the *Waldenses* have given honourable testimony of them, and adds thereto by the force of truth itself. Let us now see in what esteem they have been with those that succeeded them in the same belief.

CHAP. V.

Testimonies given of the Waldenses; by many great personages that have made profession of the reformed religion.

THEODORE BEZA, in his history of worthy men, calleth the *Waldenses* the seed of the most pure ancient Christian Church, which was miraculously preserved in the midst of the darkness and errors which have been hatched by Satan in these latter times.

Constantine

Constans upon the Revelation, sheweth that the reformation of the Church in the Western parts of the world began in *France*, by the means of *Waldo*, and that from this source it spread itself through the rest of *Europe*.

Bullinger speaks thus of the *Waldenses*, What should we say, that above four hundred years since, now near seven hundred years since, throughout *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Bohemia*, and other countries and kingdoms of the world, the *Waldenses*, have made profession of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, and in their writing and preaching accused the Pope to be the true Antichrist of whom the Apostle Saint *John* had prophesied, and therefore we were to fly from him. These people being tortured with diverse most cruel torments, have with unspeakable constancy given testimony of their faith by glorious martyrdoms, and the like they suffer even at this very day, even so late as the time of *Lewis* the XIVth of *France*, after he had revoked the edict of *Nantz*; in the year 1685 we meet with the following relation, of the sufferings of the *Hugonots* in *France*. It is impossible to meet with paralell instances among the heathens in their persecutions of the primitive Christians, the bloody butchers who were sent to them under the name of *Dragoons*, invented a thousand torments to try their patience and to force an abridgement from them. They cast some into large fires, and took them out when half roasted. They hanged others with large ropes under their arm pits, and plunged

ed them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. Some they slashed and cut with knives; Some they took by the nose with red hot tongs, and led them up and down the room till they promised to turn Catholics. Such was the rage of state religion at that time, and it seldom fares better with real Christians when what is called christianity is made a state engine, or the ostensible pretence to gratify either ambition or avarice. It is beyond the power of man to banish or to root them out, notwithstanding it has been often attempted by most mighty kings and princes stirred up by the Pope, but it is God saith he, that hath hindred all their violent outrages,

Luther confessed that he hated the *Waldenses*, as desperate men, until he knew the piety and truth of their belief by their own confessions and writings, whereby he perceived that these good and honest men were much wronged, and that the Pope had condemned them for hereticks, being rather worthy of the praise that is due to Saints and Martyrs.

Having also read the confession of the *Waldenses*, he said that he did thank God for that great light that he had pleased God to impart unto them, taking great comfort with them, for that all occasion of suspicion amongst them whereby they suspected each other of heresy, was taken away, and that they were knit so close together, as that they were all sheep of one fold, under the only Pastor and Bishop of our souls, who is blessed for ever.

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Le Sieur de Vigneaux who was a Pastor of the *Waldenses* in the vallies of *Peidmont*, hath written a treatise of their life, manners, and religion, to whom he gives this testimony, that they were a people of a holy and godly life and conversation, well governed, great enemies to vice, but especially their Barbes, for so they called their Pastors. And speaking of those of his own time, he saith: We live in peace in these vallies of *Peidmont*, and in love and amity one with another, we have commerce together, never marrying our sons to the daughters of those of the Church of *Rome*, or our daughters to their sons; yea, our manners and customs please them so well, that such as are masters and call themselves catholics, desire to chuse their men-servants and maid servants rather from among us than themselves. And they come also from far to seek nurses for their children amongst us, finding in ours more fidelity than in their own. *Reader, let this be our real character.*

And as touching the doctrine for which the *Waldenses* have been persecuted, they do affirm, saith he, that we are to believe the Scriptures only, in that which concerns our salvation, not any way depending upon men. That the Scriptures contain in them whatsoever is necessary to salvation, and that we are not to believe any thing but what God hath commanded us.

That we have only one Mediator, and therefore we are not to invoke Saints.

That

That there is no Purgatory, but all such as are justified by Christ go to eternal life.

They approve of two Sacraments, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

They affirm that all Masses are damnable, especially those that are said for the dead, and therefore are to be abolished.

That all human traditions are to be rejected, as not being necessary to Salvation.

That singing, and often rehearsal of divine Service, fasts tied to certain days, superfluous feasts, difference of meats, so many degrees and orders of Friars, Monks, and Nuns, so many benedictions and consecrations of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, and the whole confusion and great number of ceremonies heretofore invented, are to be abolished.

They deny the supremacy of the Pope, and especially that power that he usurpeth over civil government; and they admit of no other degrees, than Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

That the See of *Rome* is the true *Babylon*, and that the Pope is the fountain of all the evils in these days.

That the marriage of Priests is good and lawful.

That they who hear the word of God, and have the true knowledge thereof, are the true Church, unto
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which Christ Jesus hath delivered the keys, to let in the flock, and to chace away the wolves.

Behold here, saith *Vinoux*, the doctrine of the *Waldenses*, which the enemies of truth have opposed, and for which in those times they persecuted them, their enemies themselves being judges.

Viret speaks of the *Waldenses* as followeth. The Papists, saith he, have imputed great crimes, and that very wrongfully, unto those ancient faithful people, commonly called *Waldenses*, or the poor people of *Lyons*, who make it appear that the Pope is Antichrist, and that his doctrine is nothing else but human traditions, contrary to the doctrine of Christ Jesus. For which cause they have dealt against them, as the ancient *Pagans* did against the Christians, accusing them that they had killed their own children in their assemblies.

The Author of the History of the reformed Churches in *France* writeth thus. The *Waldenses* time out of mind have opposed themselves against the abuses of the Church of *Rome*, and have in such sort been persecuted, not by the sword of the word of God, but by all kinds of violence and cruelty, as also by a million of calumnies and false accusations, that they have been forced to disperse themselves into what parts of the world they could, wandering through desert places like poor savage beasts; the Lord nevertheless preserving the remnant of them, in such sort, that, notwithstanding the

the fury of the whole world, they were still preserved in three countries far distant one from the other, that is, *Calabria*, *Bohemia*, and *Peidmont*, with the bordering parts thereabout, from whence they have been dispersed into the quarters of *Provence*, about two hundred and seventy years since. And as touching their religion, they have always avoided the Papal superstition. For which cause they have been always vexed by the Bishops and Inquisitors, abusing the power of secular justice, in such sort, that it is an evident miracle of God that they should be able to continue.

John Chaffagon writes as follows. It is written of the *Waldenses* that they rejected all the traditions and ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, as unprofitable and superstitious, and that they made no great account of their Clergy and Prelates. And for this cause being excommunicated and chased out of the country, they dispersed themselves into many and divers places, as into *Dauphiny*, *Provence*, *Languedoc*, *Peidmont*, *Calabria*, *Bohemia*, *England*, and other places. Some have written that one part of the *Waldenses* retired themselves into *Lombardy*, where they multiplied in such a manner, that their doctrine was dispersed throughout all *Italy*, and came as far as *Sicily*. Nevertheless in this great dispersion, they always kept themselves in union and fraternity for the space of four hundred years, living in great sincerity, and the fear of God.

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The Author of the History of the State of the Church writes of them thus. After that *Waldo*, saith he, and his followers were driven out of *Lyons*, one part of them retired to *Lombardy*, where they multiplied in such a manner, that their doctrine began to disperse itself into *Italy*, and came into *Sicily*, as the Patents of *Frederick* the second, given out against them whilst he reigned, do witness.

Vesembocius saith, that when the Pope and his catchpoles saw that the Roman Hierarchie received great detriment by means of the *Waldenses*, insomuch that there were certain Princes that had undertaken their defence, amongst whom was the King of *Aragon*, and the Earl of *Thoulouse*, in those days powerful Princes in *France*, they began to oppress them upon most unjust occasions, bringing them into hatred with the people, and especially of Kings, to the end that by this means they might be utterly exterminated.

Vignier makes mention of the *Waldenses* in his Historical Bibliothick, and saith, that they have endured many long and grievous persecutions, and yet notwithstanding there was never any thing that could hinder them from retaining that doctrine which they had received from the *Waldenses*, delivering it, as it were, from hand to hand unto their children.

Hologary affirms, that the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* were of a contrary opinion to the Bishop of *Rome* in all those maxims or principles that were publicly preached

ed and commanded by his authority, that is, that were invented by him, and contrary to the word of God. And he witnesseth withal, that there were amongst them wise men, and very learned, and sufficient to defend their belief against the Monks.

Matthias Illyricus writes, that he finds by the writings of *Waldo*, which lay by him in certain ancient parchments, that *Waldo* was a learned man, and that he did not cause the books of the Bible to be translated into the vulgar tongue, but that he took pains therein himself.

It is most certain, that the adversaries of *Waldo* and the *Waldenses*, make no great account of these above named testimonies, because they hold them to be both of one and the same rank and order, both the witnesses and those to whom they bare witness, that is, all for hereticks, but this history is not only for the enemies, of the truth, but to the end the lovers thereof may see that what is produced, doth not intend only our own particular commendations, but to shew that there have been before us certain great personages, whose memory they reverence that have spoken of the *Waldenses*, as of the true servants of God, who have mentioned the truth with the loss of their lives, and earnestly desired in their times to see the reformation we enjoy in ours.

And as *le Sieur de S. Aldegonde* saith, the occasion why they were condemned for hereticks, was no other

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but because they maintained that the mass was an impious corruption of the holy Supper of the Lord.

That the host was an idol forged by men.

That the Church of *Rome* was wholly adulterated and corrupted, and full of infidelity and idolatry.

That the traditions of the Church were but superstitions and human inventions.

That the Pope was not the head of the Church, and for other points of this nature.

And as the said *Aldegonde* observes, it was a great work of God, that how diligent soever the Popes with their Clergy have been, using likewise the assistance of secular Princes and magistrates, to root them out, yet they could never do it; neither by proscriptions, nor banishments, nor excommunications, nor publications of their Bulls, nor Indulgences and Pardons to all those that shall make war against them; nor by any manner of torments, fire, flames, gibets, or other cruel effusion of blood, could they ever hinder the current of their doctrine, but it hath spread itself almost into all the corners of the earth.

Thus hath *le Sieur de Sainte Aldegonde* writ of the *Waldenses*. But forasmuch as doubt may be made, whether we have in these days any proofs in the world of their belief, it is necessary that we produce hereabouts an inventory of books which they have left unto us, to the
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end that when there shall be any question of their doctrine, every one may understand what the writings are, out of which we have gathered that which they taught.

C H A P. VI.

That Peter Waldo and the Waldenses have left books which make proof of their belief, and what they are.

THAT Waldo left something in writing unto us, it appears by that which *Math. Illyricus* saith, that he hath certain parchments of his, which shew him to be a learned man.

The author of the history of the state of the Church gives this testimony that followeth. *Waldo* at the same time, saith he, made a collection in the vulgar tongue of sundry passages of the ancient Fathers, to the end he might defend his opinions not only by the authority of the holy Scripture, but also by the testimony of the Doctors against his adversaries,

It is to this servant of God to whom we are much bound for the multitude of books written by the *Waldenses*. For as oft as he lighted upon any, he gathered them together and kept them carefully, which he did the more commodiously, for that, as he saith, he conversed with them almost for the space of forty years, which was about some fourscore years past. For it was about the end of his days that he delivered to some particular

ticular persons his said Memorials, which he had gathered touching the *Waldenses*, and all those ancient books which he had collected in their vallies, touching the substance of which he thus speaketh. We have, saith he, certain ancient books of the *Waldenses*, containing Catechisms and Sermons, which are manuscripts written in the vulgar tongue, wherein there is nothing that makes for the Pope or popery. And it is wonderful, saith he, that they saw so clearly in those times of darkness, more gross then that of *Egypt*.

From hence we concluded, that the doctrine which hath been maintained in our times against human inventions, is not new, but to those that have buried it wilfully, or whose ancestors have detested it, from their ignorance of the goodness thereof; there being found divers writings, and that in great number, which make good that for this four hundred and fifty years the doctrine of the reformed Churches is the self same which for many ages have been buried by ignorance and ingratitude.

Which our adversaries themselves have in some sort avouched, when they say and confess, that the doctrine which they call new, is but the substance of the errors of the ancient *Waldenses*, as may appear by their own writings.

Lindanus makes *Calvin* an inheritor or herier of the doctrine of the *Waldenses*.

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The Cardinal *Hofius* saith, that the leprosy of the *Waldenses* hath infected all *Bohemia*, at which time following the doctrine of *Waldo*, the greatest part of the kingdom of *Bohemia* was seperated from the Church of *Rome*.

Gwaltier Monk, the Jesuite, in his Chronographical table, makes the *Waldenses*, and those they call the poor, and the Ministers of *Calvin*, to be of one and the same belief in twenty seven Articles.

Oland. Rubis saith, that the heresies that have been in our times have been grounded upon the heresies of the *Waldenses*, and he calls them the reliques of *Waldo*.

Aeneas Sylvius who was afterwarde Pope *Pius* the second; and *John Dubravius* Bishop of *Olmuffe* in their histories of *Bohemia*, make the doctrine taught by *Calvin* all one with that of the *Waldenses*.

Thomas Walden who writ against the doctrine of Wickliffe saith, that the doctrine of *Waldo* crept out of the quarters of *France* into *England*, whereunto agrees *le Sieur de la Popeliniere*, who addeth, that the doctrine of the modern protestants differs very little from that of the *Waldenses*, which, saith he, being received into the parts of *Albi*, the *Albigenses* communicated it unto the *Englifs* their neighbours, who then held *Guienne*, from whence it was dispersed into many parts of *England*, and so at the last, as it were from hand to hand it came to the understanding of Wickliffe, a famous

mous professor of divinity in the University of *Oxford*, and Pastor of the Parish of *Luterworth* in the Diocese of *Lincoln*, who for his eloquence and rare gifts, won the hearts of many of the *English*, even of the greatest men amongst them; insomuch that a certain scholar carried to *Prague*, a book of *Wickliffe's*, called the *Universalities*, which being diligently read over by *John Hufs*, he increased and explained the doctrine long before sowed in *Bohemia* by the *Waldenses*, and was in a manner hid from the time of *Waldo*: in such sort that many of the people, scholars, Nobles and Ecclesiastical persons themselves, followed the same doctrine.

The Cardinal *Ballarmine* saith, that *Wickliffe* could add nothing to the heresy of the *Waldenses*.

Ecchius lays an imputation upon *Luther*, that he hath done nothing else but renewed the heresies of the *Waldenses*, *Albigenses*, *Wickliffe*, and *John Hufs*, long since condemned.

Alphonfus de Castro, saith, that *Wickliffe* hath done nothing else but brought to light the errors of the *Waldenses*.

We need not therefore dispute any longer of the antiquity of this doctrine, but only of the purity thereof, since that not only by the affirmation of those that were adversaries to the *Waldenses* and the last reformation, there are whole ages, during which the substance of the belief hath remained in divers persons,

persons, who crying out against the abuses which have crept into the Church, have been oppressed by persecutions. And for as much as it is denied, that we have had a succession of such instruments, who have opposed themselves from time to time against those corruptions and errors, which have born sway, we will produce in the following Chapter, a catalogue, both of those which our adversaries have named, and put to death, and of those whom the *Waldenses* have had for their Pastors, for these four hundred and fifty years last past, at least of as many as have come to knowledge.

C H A P. VII.

The names of several Pastors of the Waldenses, who have instructed them for four hundred years last past, and have come to our knowledge.

WALDO from whom the *Waldenses* took their name, began to teach the people in the year of our Lord 1160.

Le Sieur de Sainte Aldegonde observeth, that at the same time that *Waldo* began to shew himself and to teach at *Lyons*, God raised others in *Provence* and *Langudoc*, among whom the principal were, *Arnold*, *Esperon*, and *Joseph*, of whom they were named *Arnoldists*, *Josephists*, and *Esperonists*: though because their doctrine was first received in *Albi* in the country

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of the *Albigenses*, they were commonly called *Albigenses*, in such manner that on the one side the *Waldenses*, and on the other the *Albigenses* were as the two Olives, or the two Lamps which St. *John* speaketh of, whose light did spread itself through all the corners of the earth.

At the same time, saith he, followed *Peter Bruis*, whereupon many called them *Peter Brusiens*.

To whom there succeeded in doctrine, one *Henry*, the one being a priest the other a monk, and they taught in the Bishopricks of *Arles*, *Ambrun*, *Die*, and *Gap*, from whence being chased away, they were received at *Tholouse*.

There was a certain man, saith he, called *Bartholomew* born at *Carcassone*, that ordered and governed the Churches in *Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Hungary*, and appointed ministers, as *Matthew Paris* reports, naming him their Pope or Bishop, and alledging to that purpose the letter which the Bishop of *Portuense* Legate to the Pope in the parts thereabouts, writ to the Archbishop of *Roan* and his suffragans; demanding succours and assistance against them, insomuch that they were at the last constrained to retire themselves into desarts, following that prophesy in the 12 of the Revelation, which saith, that the woman great with child, that brought forth a man child, which is the true Church of God, should in such sort be persecuted by the Dragon, which cast out of
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his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood, so that she was constrained to fly into the wilderness, where she should be nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, or for the space of forty two months, or a thousand two hundred and threescore days.

Rainerius makes mention of two famous Bishops of the *Waldenses*, viz, of one *Belaxinanza* of *Verona*, and one *John de Lugio*, who taught amongst them, as is above written, about the year 1250.

Arnold Hot, Pastor amongst the *Waldenses*, maintained the disputation at *Mont Real*, whereof we shall make mention in its due place.

Lollard was also in great reputation amongst them, both for a commentary which he had written upon the Revelation, as also of that he had given knowledge of the Doctrine in *England*, from whose name the *Waldenses* were called *Lollards*, a term of reproach often used by *Bonner* and other persecutors in the days of *Queen Mary*.

The *Waldenses* of the vallies of *Angrongne*, of *Dauphiny*, *Provence*, and *Calabria*, have had for their Pastors, these whose memories they have preserved for above three hundred years past.

John of the valley of *Eucrena*, who for some offence was suspended from his office for seven years, during
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which time he remained at *Genes*, where the Pastors had a house, as they had also another very fair one at *Florence*.

John Girard, de Meane, surnamed with the great hand.

Of the valley of *Angrongne*, *Thomas Basti*, who died in the service of the *Waldenses* Churches at *Poville*.

Sebastian Basti, who died in *Calabria*.

John Bellonat, of the same valley, who was the first amongst the Pastors that married a wife.

Daniel de Valentia, and *John de Molins*.

These two were sent into *Bohemia* to serve in the Churches of the *Waldenses* gathered together in the said Realm: but they betrayed the Churches, by imprudence as is thought, and brought much mischief upon them, by discovering unto the enemies of the said *Waldenses* whatsoever they knew of their troops and meetings, whereby there happened a great persecution, which occasioned the Churches of *Bohemia* to write to the *Waldensian* Churches of the *Alps*, from thenceforward not to call to such an high vocation, any person whose faith, honesty and zeal, was not thoroughly known by long proof and experience.

The last Pastors which they had were *George Maurel*, and *Peter Mascon*, who in the year of our Lord 1530, were sent into *Germany* to confer of religion with

with *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer* and others. *Peter Mascom* was taken prisoner at *Dijon*.

Steven Negrin and *Lewis Paschal* were sent into *Calabria* in the year 1560, to the *Waldensian Churches* at *Montald*, *St. Kist*, and other places thereabout. *Steven Negrin* was taken prisoner and sent to *Cosence*, where he died in prison for want of sustenance.

Lewis Paschal was sent to *Rome*, where he was condemned and burnt alive, *Pope Pius* the fourth of that name being present and his Cardinals: whom he summoned to appear before the throne of the Lamb, to give an account of their cruelties.

There are a great number of others, as may appear by the process commenced against the *Waldenses* of *Dauphiny* which are come to our hands, wherein mention is made of divers Pastors which they have had, who have been many times imprisoned, and delivered unto death by the Monks and Inquisitors, who caused them to be watched even upon the high *Alps*, when they travelled from one company to another, but as we have only their bare names, it is no great use to the reader, to fill several pages with them. This small number may suffice to give us to understand, that though their enemies did their best endeavour wholly to banish them, and to root them out from off the earth; yet the eternal God hath not ceased to provide labourers for his harvest, when there was any need to preserve, even to this present day, namely 1600, only

The money that is given us by the people, is carried to the aforesaid general Council, and is delivered in the presence of all, and there it is received by the most ancient members of the Council, and part thereof is given to those that are travellers or wayfaring men, according to their necessities, and part unto the poor.

When any of us that are Pastors shall fall into any foul or unclean sin, he is cast out of our company, and forbidden the charge of preaching.

Amongst other power and authority which God hath given to his servants, it belongs unto them to choose guides of the people, and Elders in their charges, according to the diversity of employments, in the unity of Christ. Which is proved by the saying of the Apostle in the Epistle to Titus, chap. 1, ver. 5. *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I have appointed thee.*

Thus you see how the Pastors of the *Waldenses* were chosen and maintained in their charge; but to the end that their zeal may the better appear, we will insert in the following letter which one of the said Pastors wrote to one of their Churches; by which it may easily appear with how holy and sanctified affection they laboured to call the people to repentance, and to instruct them in the faith.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

*An Epistle of the Pastor Bartholomew Tartian, written
to the Waldensian Churches of Pragela.*

Jesus be with you.

*To all our faithful and well beloved brethren in Christ
Jesus. Health and salvation be with you all. Amen.*

THESE are to advise your brotherhood (hereby acquitting my self of the duty which I owe unto you all in the behalf of God, principally touching the care of the salvation of your souls, according to that light of the truth which the most high God hath bestowed on us) that it would please every one of you to maintain, increase, and nourish to the utmost of your power, without diminution, those good beginnings and customs which have been left unto us by our ancestors, whereof we are no way worthy. For it would little profit us to have been renewed by the fatherly instance, and the light which hath been given us of God, if we give ourselves to worldly diabolical, and carnal conversations, abandoning the principal, which is God, and the salvation of our souls, for this short and temporal life. For the Lord saith in his Gospel, *What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his own soul?* For it would be better for us never to have known the way of righteousness, than having known it to do the contrary. For we shall be
inexcusable,

inexcusable, and our condemnation the greater: for there are greater and more grievous torments provided for those that have most knowledge. Let me therefore intreat you by the love of God, that you decrease not, but rather increase that charity, fear and obedience which is due unto God, and to yourselves, and keep all those good customs which you have heard and understood of God, by our means: and that you would remove from amongst you all defaults and wants, troubling the peace, the love, the concord, and whatsoever taketh from you the service of God, your own salvation, and the administration of the truth; if you desire that God should be merciful unto you in your goods temporal and spiritual. For you can do nothing without him; and if you desire to be heirs of his glory, do that which he commandeth: If you will enter into life keep his commandments. Likewise be careful that there be not nourished amongst you any sports, gluttony, dancings, nor any lewdness, riot, questions, deceit, usury nor discord; neither support or entertain any persons that are of a wicked conversation, or that give any scandal or bad example amongst you, but let charity and fidelity reign amongst you; and all good example; doing one to another as every one desires should be done unto himself. For otherwise it is not possible that any man should be saved, or can have the favour either of God or man in this world, or glory in another. And it is necessary that the conductors principally should have a hand herein, and such as rule and govern.

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For when the head is sick all the members are likewise ill affected. And therefore if you hope and desire to possess eternal life, to live in good esteem and credit, and to prosper in this world in your goods temporal and spiritual, purge yourselves from all disorderly ways, to the end that God may be always with you, who never forsaketh those that trust in him. But know this for a certain truth, that God heareth not, nor dwelleth with sinners, nor in the soul that is given unto wickedness, nor in the man that is subject unto sin. And therefore let every one cleanse the ways of his heart, and fly the danger if he will not perish therein. I have no other thing to write at this present, but that you would put in practice these things: And the God of peace be with you all, and accompany us in our true, devout, and humble prayers, that he will be pleased to save all those his faithful servants who trust in Christ Jesus.

Wholly Yours,

BARTHOLOMEW TERTIAN.

CH A P. X.

The Confession of the Faith of the Waldenses.

WE believe, and do firmly hold all that which is contained in the twelve Articles of the Symbol which is called the Apostles Creed; and we account

account all that for heresy which agreeth not with the said twelve Articles.

We believe that there is one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

We acknowledge for Holy and Canonical Scripture all the Books of the Bible. Then follows a Catalogue of all the Books of the Old and New Testament.

The Apocryphal Books are not received of the Hebrews, but we read them for the instruction of the people, not to confirm the authority of the Ecclesiastical Doctrines: Then follows a Catalogue of Apocryphal Books, as they stand in our Bibles.

The Books above named teach thus much, That there is one God Almighty, wholly wise and wholly good, who hath made all things by his goodness. For he created *Adam* according to his own image and similitude: but by the malice of the devil, and the disobedience of *Adam*, sin entered into the world, and we are made sinners in *Adam*, and by *Adam*.

That Christ was promised to our forefathers, who received the Law, to the end that knowing their sin by the Law, and their unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ, to the end he might satisfy for their sins, and accomplish the Law by himself.

That Christ was born at the time appointed by God his Father, that is to say, at a time when all iniquity abounded,

abounded, not for the sake of our good works, for all were sinners; but to the end he might offer his grace and mercy unto us.

That Christ is our life, truth, peace, Advocate, Pastor, sacrifice and sacrificer; who died for the salvation of all those who believe, and is raised again for our justification.

We do also firmly hold, that there is no other mediator or advocate with God the Father, but only Jesus Christ. And as touching the Virgin *Mary*, that she is holy, humble, and full of grace; and so do we believe of all the Saints, who wait in Heaven for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment.

We do also believe that after this life, there are only two places; the one for those that shall be saved, the other for the damned, which we call Paradise and Hell, denying altogether Purgatory, as being a dream of Antichrist, and invented against the truth.

We have also always believed, that the inventions of men are an unspeakable abomination before God, as the feasts and the vigils of Saints, holy water, and such like, but principally the Masses.

We do abhorre all human inventions, as coming from Antichrist, all which bring troubles with them, and are prejudicial to the liberty of the spirit.

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We believe that the Sacraments are outward signs of holy things, or visible forms of invisible grace; and are of opinion that it is good that the faithful do some times use those signs and visible forms. But nevertheless we believe and do hold, that the afore-said faithful may be saved, not receiving the said signs where they want opportunity to use them.

We do not acknowledge any other Sacrament but Baptism and the Euchrist. *i. e.* the Lord's Supper.

We do honour the secular power with all subjection, obedience, promptitude and payment.

C H A P. XI.

Another Confession of the Faith of the Waldenses.

WE believe that there is only one God, who is a Spirit, the Creator of all things, the Father of all, who is above all, and in us all, who is to be adored in spirit and truth, upon whom only we wait, and to whom we give all glory for our life, our nourishment, clothing, health, sickness, prosperity, and adversity: we love him as the author of all goodness, we fear him as knowing our hearts.

We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son, and image of his Father; that in him dwelleth the fulness of the divinity; by whom we know the Father, and
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who is our mediator and advocate, and there is no other name under Heaven given unto men by which we can be saved; in whose name only we call upon the Father, and use no other prayers but those that are contained in the holy Scriptures, or agreeing unto them in substance.

We believe that the Holy Ghost is our Comforter, preceeding from the Father and the Son; by whose inspiration we make our prayers, being renewed by him, who doth all good works in us, and by him we have knowledge of all truth.

We believe that there is one holy Church, which is the congregation of all the faithful, which have been from the beginning of the world, and shall be unto the end, whereof our Lord Jesus Christ is the head: which Church is governed by his word, and guided by the Holy Ghost, in which all good Christians ought to remain: for it prayeth without ceasing for all, and the word thereof is agreeable unto God, without which no man can be saved.

We hold that the Ministers of the Church ought to be irreprehensible both in life and doctrine, otherwise they are to be deposed from their office, and others to be substituted in their places. And that no man ought to presume to undertake this honourable calling, but only he which is called of God as *Aaron* was, nourishing the flock of Christ, not for filthy lucre, or lording it over, but as being an example to the flock,

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in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and in chastity.

We confess that Kings, Princes, and Governors are ordained and established Ministers of God, whom we are to obey. For they carry the sword for the defence of innocents, and the punishment of malefactors; and for this cause we are bound to do them honour, and to pay tribute. From which power and authority no man can exempt himself, as may appear by the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, who refused not to pay tribute, not challenging any jurisdiction of temporal power.

We believe, that in the Sacrament of Baptism the water is the visible external sign, which representeth unto us the power and virtue of God invisible, so working in us, by his grace, renovation of the spirit, and mortification of our members in Jesus Christ, by which we are also received into the holy congregation of the people of God; protesting and declaring before it our faith and change of life.

We hold the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be a holy remembrance and thanksgiving for the benefits which we have received by his death and passion, which is to be received in faith and charity, examining ourselves, that so we may eat of that bread and drink of that cup, as it is written in the holy Scripture.

We confess, that marriage is good and honourable, holy and instituted of God, which ought to be forbidden

bidden to none, if there be no impediment by the word of God.

We confess that they that fear God, seek the things that please him, doing good works, which he hath prepared to the end we should walk in them, which are charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, meekness, sobriety, and other works contained in the holy Scriptures.

On the contrary, we confess that we are to take heed of false teachers, whose end is to call people from the true worship of God; and to rest themselves upon creatures, putting their confidence in them, as also to persuade the people to leave those good duties that are contained in the holy Scriptures, and to do those invented by men.

We hold the Old and New Testament for the rule of our faith, and we agree to the general confession of faith, with those Articles contained in the Symbol of the Apostles, which doth thus begin, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.*

From hence, we see the purity of the Doctrines held by these primitive Reformers, as well as the holiness of their lives; either of which may astonish us, especially if we consider the darkness which surrounded them, and the few advantages which they had at that woe-fal period of apostacy. The received maxim, that ignorance is the mother of devotion, had well nigh

banished learning as well as religion out of the world. Nay, so ignorant were some of the Priests that they could not read; yea, that many of the Bishops could not write their own name, insomuch that it was common, and thought no disgrace for the Signature of a Bishop to be a mark, like that of a poor country man in our time, and was thus expressed, the mark of his Lordship of *L. D.* or whatever Diocese he might be set over. From hence we may judge how the people were taught, and the great pity and mercy of God in raising up such burning and shining lights as the *Waldenses* were, and whose light will never be put out, but will shine brighter and brighter to the perfect day. Having brought forward, their origin from as far back as we can trace it; the holiness of their lives from the testimony of both friends, and avowed enemies; it will be necessary in the following book to exhibit their examples of faith and patience under the iron hand of avarice and bigotry; in which we see as the real doctrines of Christ, and the experience and lives of his Saints are the same in all ages; so rage, selfishness, bigotry and persecution have always been the same from the Egyptian bondage to the present time.

The doctrines of the *Waldenses* are sufficiently known by what is contained in their confessions above mentioned: and yet nevertheless, it is for the same that they have been persecuted for the space of four hundred and fifty years; and still would be if they lived near those

those places where human inventions are preferred before the word of God. For, though Satan be confounded, and his kingdom dissipated by the brightness of the Gospel, yet he ceaseth not to hold those under the yoke of idolatry, whose understandings he hath blinded, and to keep them by violence under the tyranny of his laws, hiding that ignorance and error which men naturally love, in that darkness wherein they take pleasure. But as it hath not pleased the eternal God, that the faith of his servants and martyrs should be buried, so it likewise pleaseth him, that their constancy should be made manifest for our edification and example. And this is the reason why having shewed in the first book, that the *Waldenses* believed for salvation what was necessary, I have thought good to publish in the second book what is come to knowledge of their sufferings for righteousness.

O Reader, whoever thou art, whether Churchman or Dissenter; Arminian or Calvinist; keep thy hands, thy tongue, thy heart, thy influence at the remotest distance from persecution. Let God carry on his own work in his own way. If sinners are converted to God, rejoice! they are the purchase, the dear bought purchase of thy Saviour's blood. Thou wilt see these martyrs and confessors were not suffering and contending for shadows, or cunningly devised fables. O! no, 'twas the honour of their crucified Lord; the life, power and practice of real religion; it was for that Gospel which is the power of God to an endless life. By persecu-

tion I understand any restraint in point of forms or systems, times or places. For he who would compel me in any of these circumstances, or refuse my society or connexion on that account, that man would carry his violence much farther were it in his power; and it is happy for me that neither my liberty, nor property, nor life is in the hands of such a tyrant. O let us beware of such intolerance in any shape whatever, and let us allow each one liberty to give all diligence to make his calling and election sure.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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S E C O N D B O O K,
C O N T A I N I N G T H E P E R S E C U T I O N
O F T H E
W A L D E N S E S,

Which they have endured for their Faith, for the space of more than four hundred and fifty Years.

C H A P. I.

By whom the Waldenses have been persecuted, for what, by what means, and in what time.

HE *Waldenses* have had no greater enemies than the *Popes*; because, Monk *Rainerius* says, that amongst all those that have raised themselves against the Church of *Rome*, the *Waldenses* have been always the most dangerous and pernicious, insomuch that they have resisted him for a long time; as also because this
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Sect is more general, for there is scarce any country in which it hath not taken footing. And because all other by their blasphemies against God, strike horror into men's hearts; but this on the contrary, hath a great appearance of piety, for they carry themselves uprightly before men, and believe rightly touching God in all things, holding all the Articles that are contained in the Symbol, hating and reviling the Church of *Rome*, and therein they are easily believed of the people. Such is the testimony of this bitter enemy to Christ and his followers.

And in another place the said *Rainerius* saith, that the first lesson that the *Waldenses* give to those whom they win to their Sect, is this, that they teach them what the Disciples of Christ ought to be, and that by the words of the Gospel and the Apostles, affirming, that they only are the successors of the Apostles, that immitate their life. Inferring thereby, saith he, that the Pope, the Bishops and Clergy, that possess and enjoy the riches of this world, and seek after them, follow not the examples of the Apostles, and therefore are not the true guides of the Church; it never being the purpose of Christ Jesus, to commit his chaste and beloved spouse, to those who rather prostitute her by their bad examples, and wicked actions, than present her in that purity wherein they received her at the beginning, namely, a Virgin chaste and without spot. *Reader, note this.*

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In hatred therefore of divers discourses which the *Waldenses* have written against the luxury, avarice, pride, and errors brought on by the Pope, they have always persecuted them to death.

The means they have used utterly to exterminate them, have been in the first place their curses, canons, constitutions, decrees, and whatsoever else might make them odious to the Kings, Princes, and people of the earth; giving them over, as much as lies in their power, unto Satan, interdicting them all communion and society with those that obey their laws, judging them unworthy to inherit, or to make wills, or to be buried in common church yards; confiscating their goods, disinheriting their heirs, and where they could by any means apprehend them, they have condemned them to be delivered to the secular power, their houses to be raised, their lands and moveables confiscated, or given to the first conqueror.

But forasmuch as no Prince or Magistrate, or any other had any power to frame a process against any in the fact of pretended heresy; command was given to the Bishops, every one in his jurisdiction, to make an inquiry into their flocks, and take notice how every particular person was affected, to the ordinances of the Popes, and the Church of *Rome*. So when *Waldo* began to complain against the corruptions of the said Church of *Rome*, *Alexander* the third, then Pope, enjoined the Archbishop of *Lyons*, to proceed against him;

him; and forasmuch as the said Prelate did not banish him accordingly and as soon as he desired, he speedily assembled a council, where he excommunicated *Waldo*, and all those that followed his doctrine.

But this means was thought to be too easy for pressing an action as this of the *Waldenses*, who ceased not for all those thunderbolts, to preach, that the Pope was *Antichrist*, the *Mass* an abomination, the *Hof* an idol, and *Purgatory* a fable: Points that being received were sufficient to overthrow all the authority of the Pope, and to dry up all the rivers of gain to the Clergy. And therefore *Innocent* the third, who succeeded Pope *Celestine* the third, about the year 1198, took another course than that of the ordinary Bishops, to frame the process against the *Waldenses*, and others whom he called Hereticks. He authorized certain Monks, who had the full power of the Inquisition in their hands, and framed the process delivered to the secular power, by a full and absolute authority, and a far shorter way, but much more cruel; delivering the People by thousands into the hands of the Magistrates, and the Magistrates to the executioners; whereby in a few years, all Christendom was much moved by those pitiful and lamentable spectacles, to see all those burned, or hanged, who trusted only in one Lord Jesus Christ for their salvation; and renounced the vain hopes invented by men, and for their profit, which was all the fruit of that aforesaid Inquisition, which we shall speak of in the following chapter.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Of the Inquisition.

I N the beginning of the persecution of the Popes, utterly to exterminate the *Waldenses*, they were content with the means above mentioned in the preceding Chapter, but either because the business went but slowly forward, or notwithstanding these means, the number increased in such manner of those who believed, that these means were found to be too weak, it was resolved by Pope *Innocent* the third, to try by the way of preaching if he could obtain that, which by violence he could never do. He sent therefore certain Bishops and Monks, who preached in those places of the *Waldenses* that were suspected to profess their religion; but as a certain writer says, the said preachers converted not any, but a few poor people; for the most part still persisted in the profession of their faith. In *Gallia Narbonensi* there were employed two Monks, that is to say, *Pierre de Chateauneuf*, and *Dominic* born at *Calaborre* in *Spain*, to whom they joined a certain Abbot of *Cisteaux* and in a throng, as it were together, there came many other Priests and Monks, and amongst the rest a certain Bishop of *Gestre*. *Dominic* continued his persecutions of the *Waldenses* both in deed and word. This Monk seeing himself to be in authority, instituted an order of *begging Monks*, who after his name were called *Dominicans*, and the said Monk

Monk was canonized, and his Order confirmed by Pope *Honorius*.

He laboured in the Inquisition as the chief, with such satisfaction to the Pope, that from that time forward, the Monks of his Order, have been always employed in the Inquisition.

The power given to these Monks who were Inquisitors, was without limits. For they could assemble the people, when they pleased, by the sound of bell; proceed against the Bishops themselves, and send out a process, if there were need, to imprison, and to open the prisons without control. All manner of accusations were sufficient. A Sorcerer, a Harlot were sufficient witnesses, without reproach, in the pretended heresy. It was no matter who did accuse, or whether by word of mouth, or by tickets cast in before the Inquisitor; for without any personal appearance, or confronting one another, the process was framed, without party, without witness, or any other law, than the pleasure of the Inquisitor. To be rich was a crime near unto heresy, and he that had any thing to loose, was in the way to be undone, either as an heretick, or at least, a favourer of hereticks. One bare suspicion stopped the mouths of fathers and mothers, and kinsfolk, that they durst not intercede for fear of punishment; and he that did intreat for the conveyance of a cup of cold water, or a little straw to lie upon in some stinking dungeon, was condemned for a favourer of hereticks, and brought to the

the same or worse extremities. There was no advocate that durst undertake the defence of his nearest kinsman or friend, or Notary that durst receive any act in his favour. And that which was more, after that a man was once entangled within the snares of the Inquisition, he could never live in any assurance, for he had always to begin again: For if any man were set at liberty, it was only for a time till they might consider of it. Death itself made not an end of the punishment, for they have left us certain copies of their sentences against the bones of the dead, to disinter and burn them, yea thirty years after the decease of the party accused. They that were heirs had nothing certain; for upon any accusation of their fathers or kindred, they durst not undertake the defence of their own right, or possess their own inheritance, without the crime of suspicion of heresy. The people, yea the most mighty, and richest amongst them, were constrained, in a manner, to adore these Monks the Inquisitors, and to bestow upon them great presents for the building of their Convents and donations of their houses, for fear of being accused of heresy, and not be esteemed zealous for the faith of those holy fathers. And the better to entertain men with an apprehension of these things, they sometimes made shews and bravadoes of their prisoners, leading them in triumph at their procession, some being enjoined to whip themselves, others to go covered after the manner of *St. Benedicts*, that is to say, with certain red Cassocks with yellow crosses, to signify that

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they were such as had been convinced of some error, and that the first offence they should afterwards commit, they should be condemned for hereticks. Others appeared in their shirts, bare-foot and bare-headed, and a withe about their necks, a torch in their hands; that being thus prepared and furnished, they might give terror to the beholders, to see such persons of all estates and sex, brought to so miserable a condition; being all forbid to enter into the Church, but to stay in the porch, or even cast an eye upon the Host when it was shewed by the Priest; until it was otherwise determined by the Fathers, the Inquisitors.

And for the full accomplishment of the contentment of the said Fathers, the accused were exiled for a penance, into the holy Land, or inrolled for some other expedition against the *Turks*, or other Infidels, levied by the Pope, to serve the Church for a certain time at their own charge: And in the mean time, the said holy Fathers took possession of the goods of the poor Pilgrims; and that which was worst of all, at their return, they must not enquire whether the said Monks had in their absence any private familiarity with their wives; for fear least they should be condemned for backsliders, impenitent, and altogether unworthy of any favour.

Now these violences being executed from the year 1206, which was about the time that *Dominic* erected his Inquisition, to the year 1228, there was so great

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a havoc made of poor Christians, that the Archbishops of *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Narbonne*, being assembled together at *Avignon*, in the same year, at the instance of the said Monks, the Inquisitors, to confer with them about divers difficulties in the execution of their charge, had compassion on the misery of a great number that were accused, and kept in prison by the said Monks, the Inquisitors, saying :

It is come to our knowledge, that you have apprehended so great a number of the *Waldenses*, that it is not only impossible to defray the charge of their nourishment, but to provide lime, and stone to build prisons for them; we therefore counsel you that you defer a little such imprisonments, until the Pope may be advertised of the great numbers that have been apprehended, and that he advise what pleaseth him to be done; if not, there is no reason you should take offence, for those that are impenitent and incorrigible, or that you should doubt of their relapse, or that they should escape away, or having their liberty, should infect others, because you may condemn such persons without delay.

But notwithstanding, in the year 1160, there were, according to the report of *Morel*, above eight hundred thousand persons, that made profession of the faith of the said *Waldenses*.

As touching the subtilities of the said Inquisitors, we should not have had any knowledge thereof, but

from such as have escaped from the Inquisition of Spain, for it was the will of God that their cunning and rage should not be so closely hid; but that we have had examples thereof even from themselves.

Observe then the crafty subtilities of the Inquisition, which was a rule in the framing of their process against the *Waldenses*.

To wit; It is not expedient to dispute of matters of faith before lay-people.

No man shall be held as a penitent man, if he accuse not those that he knows to be such as himself.

He that accuseth not those that are like unto himself, shall be cut off from the Church, as a rotten member; for fear lest the members that are sound, should be corrupted by him.

After any one hath been delivered to the secular power, great care must be taken, that he be not suffered to excuse himself, or to manifest his innocency before the people: because if he be delivered to death, it is a stumbling block to the lay-people; and if he make an escape, there is danger of his loyalty.

Good heed must be taken, not to promise life unto him that is condemned to death, before the people; considering that an Heretick will never suffer himself to be burnt, if he may escape by such promises. And if he shall promise to repent before the people, if he have

have not his life granted unto him, there will arise a reproach amongst them, and it will be thought that he is unjustly put to death.

Note, say they, that the Inquisitor ought always to presuppose the fact, without any condition, and is only to enquire of the circumstances of the fact, as thus; how often hast thou confessed thyself unto the Hereticks? In what chamber of the house have they lain? and the like things.

The Inquisitor may look into a book, as if he found there written, the life of him that is accused, and all that he enquires of him.

It is necessary to threaten death to the accused, if he confess not, and to tell him the fact is too manifest, that it is fit he should think of his soul, and renounce his heresy, for he must die; and therefore it shall be good for him to take patiently whatsoever shall light upon him. And if he shall answer; since I must die, I had rather die in that faith I profess, than in that of the Romish Church; then conclude for certain, that before he made but a shew of repentance, and so let him suffer justice.

We must not think to vanquish Hereticks by learning, or by the Scriptures, inasmuch as men that are learned, are rather confounded by them, whereby it comes to pass, that the Hereticks fortify themselves, seeing they are able to delude the most learned.

Moreover the Inquisitor must tell them, that they shall gain nothing by swearing falsely, because they have enough to convince them by witness; and therefore they must not think, that by means of their oath they shall avoid the sentence of death; but they must promise them, that if they will freely confess their error, they shall have mercy; for in such perplexities, there are many, that confess their error in hope to escape.

Thus you see the subtilities of the Inquisitors, such as they practised in times past, against the *Waldenses* throughout all Europe. It remains that we now see what their practice hath been in every particular Realm and Province, so far forth as is come to light. And first we will begin with *Dauphiny*, because it is the Province into which *Waldo* and his followers retired themselves at their departure from *Lyons*.

C H A P. III.

The sufferings of the Waldensian Churches in Dauphiny.

THUS *Perrin* writes, the *Waldensian* Churches in *Dauphiny*, have been for these many hundred years spread abroad throughout divers parts of the Province. For they have had Churches in *Valentin*, where there are places, wherein time out of mind, the faith of the *Waldenses* hath been received from
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the father to the son, as *des Faulques*, *Beauregard*, *Valentia*, and *La Baulme* near *Crest*; out of which places there are come to our hands, certain processes, against some particular persons of the same places, for being accused by the Inquisitors of adbering to the faith of the *Waldenses* above three hundred years since. But the most famous Churches of the said Province, are those of the valley of *Fraissiniere*, near *Ambrun*, of *Argenterie*, of the valley *Loyse*. On the other side of the *Alps*, there is a valley called the valley of *Pragela*, where they have inhabited time out of mind. A valley that is in the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Turin*, peopled even at this present with those that descended from the *Waldenses*. They were the inhabitants of this valley that peopled the *Waldensian* vallies of *Peidmont*, *La Perouse*, *St. Martin*, *Angrougne*, and others; as also those of the *Waldenses* who inhabited *Provence*, and *Calabria*, are come out of those places of *Dauphiny* and *Peidmont*. In the valley of *Pragela*, there are at this day (as I judge about the year 1600, or rather before,) six goodly Churches, every one having their Pastor, and every Pastor having divers villages, which belong to every one of these Churches, all filled with those which have descended from the ancient *Waldenses*. They are Churches truly reformed time out of mind. For although in the said valley, there are at this present old people, and not a small number, near a hundred years old, and some older, yet these good old men, have never heard from their fathers, or grandfathers, that mass was ever sung in

in their times in that country. And thought perhaps the Archbishops of *Turin*, have caused it to be sung in the said valley, whereof the inhabitants have had no knowledge, yet there are not any amongst them that make profession of any other faith or belief, than the confession whereof we have mentioned in the former book.

La Sieur de Vignaux, who was one of the first Pastors that preached to his people, long before the exercise of the reformed Religion was free in *France*, could not sufficiently praise the integrity and piety of these people; whom he found altogether disposed to receive the word of God, which their fore-fathers had cherished, and in which they had instructed their posterity. And it was worthy of observation, that notwithstanding they were weakned on all sides, and environed with enemies of their Religion, in danger to be apprehended when they went out of their doors, yet there was never any worldly motive, that had power to alter their holy resolution, from the father to the son, to serve God; taking his word for the rule of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience. And they have been blessed of God, above all Christian people throughout Europe; insomuch that their infants were hardly weaned from their mother's breast, but their parents took a singular delight to instruct them in the Christian faith and doctrine, until they were able to confound many persons dwelling elsewhere,

where, well stricken in years, and overwhelmed in ignorance. *Let all parents note this.*

To this pass their Pastors brought them, who not being content to give them exhortations upon the Sabbath days, but went also in the week-days to instruct them, in the villages and hamlets thereabouts; not sparing themselves for the roughness of the rocks, the coldness of the air, the incivility of the country, where they were fain to climb up high mountains to visit their flock, and to carry unto them the food of their souls; even at those times when the people in the heat of summer were keeping their cattle upon the high rocks, and there they often teach and instruct them in the open fields. There you may see those that hear the word of God with attention and reverence: There discipline is exercised with much fruit. There the people pray with fervency of zeal, at their return from their labour, at night when they go to their rest, and in the morning before they undertake any work; first in their private houses, then in the Temple they beg the assistance of the Lord in all their actions, thoughts, words and deeds; and so betake themselves to their labours, under the protection of the living God, whom they love, honour and adore. There you may discover more zeal and simplicity, than in many other places, that abound in the delights and pleasures of this world; neither are they so rude and blockish, but that they have divers amongst them that can read, and deliver their minds

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in good terms, especially they that travel sometimes into the lower countries for trade and commerce; they have schools wherein their children are taught, neither do they want any thing they think necessary to advance the glory of God amongst them.

The first persecution that is come to our knowledge, was that, which was moved by a certain Monk of the order of the Frier-Minors, named *Francis Borelli*; having a commission in the year 1380, to make inquiry, and to inform touching the Sect of the *Waldenses*, in the Diocese of *Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienna, Geneva, Aubonne, Savoy*, the *Venetion* County, *Dyois, Forefts*, the Principality of *Orenge*, the City of *Avignon* and *Selon*; as his Bull gave him authority, which he received from *Clement* the seventh, who then was Resident and ruled in *Avignon*. By reason of the nearness of his Court to the habitation of the *Waldenses*, he thought good to purge *Dauphiny*, of those that held him to be Antichrist; and for this cause he commanded the Bishops of *Dauphiny, Provence*, and other places, to which his power did extend; for there was then a schism, and all Europe was divided, partly for *Urban* the sixth, and partly for this said *Clement*, to watch in such sort over their flocks, that there might not any live amongst them who were of the Sect of the *Waldenses*.

This Monk cited to appear before him at *Ambrun*, all the inhabitants of *Frassinere, Argentiere*, and the valley

valley *Pute*, upon pain of excommunication. They appeared not, nor any for them, and were therefore condemned for their contumacy, and in the end shut out of the Church, by the last and most direful excommunication of offenders: and in the space of thirteen years, during which time he now and then caught one or other, and delivered to the secular power to be burnt at *Grenoble*, to the number of one hundred and fifty men, divers women, with many of their sons and daughters well stricken in years, whose names we have not here inserted because we would not weary the reader.

Of the valley of *Argentiere* and *Frassinieres*, of both sexes, to the number of eighty, were all condemned to be delivered to the secular power; in such sort, that whensoever any of them was apprehended, he was presently brought to *Grenoble*, and there without any other shew or process, burnt alive.

This last sentence was pronounced at *Ambroz* in the Cathedral Church, in the year 1393, to the great gain of the Inquisitors, who adjudged to themselves two parts of the goods of the said condemned, and the rest to the temporal commanders, with inhibition to their bordering neighbours, to assist them in any manner, to receive them, visit, defend, or to minister relief or sustenance to any of them, or to converse with them in any sort, or to do them any favour, or give them any aid or counsel, upon pain of being
treated

treated as a favourer of hereticks; they being declared unworthy of all offices, and public charges and councils; forbidding every man to use the service of any of them in matter of testimony, they themselves being judged insufficient to make a will, or to succeed in any inheritance.

This Monk reserved to himself, by the said sentence, the review and examination of the process of some dozen that he named therein; and they were those which he would willingly have to pass by the golden gate. For in the process that is come to our hands, there are many that complain, that they had never been entangled in the snares of the Inquisitors, but for their goods; being well known that they never had any knowledge of the belief of the *Waldenses*.

As touching the *Waldenses* of the valley of *Pragela*, they were assailed by their enemies upon the side of *Susa*, a town in *Peidmont*, about the year 1400: And forasmuch as they had many times assaulted them in vain, at such times as they could retire themselves into the high mountains, and caves or hollow places thereof, from whence they might much annoy, and hinder those that came to assail them, the said enemies set upon them, about the feast of the Nativity of Christ, a time when these poor people never thought, that any would have dared to have passed the mountains, being covered with snow, who seeing their caves and caverns taken by their enemies, they be-
took

took themselves to one of the highest mountains of the *Alps*, named afterwards the *Albergam*, that is to say, the mountain of retreat; and running together in troops with their wives and children, the mothers carrying their cradles, and leading their infants by the hand, that were able to go; the enemy followed them until night, and slew many before they could recover the mountain. They that were then slain had the better bargain. For night coming upon these poor people, which were in the snow, without any means to make a fire to warm their little infants, the greatest part of them were benumbed with cold, and there were in the morning fourscore small infants dead in their cradles; and most of their mothers died after them, and divers others were giving up the last gasp.

The enemies being retired in the night, into the houses of these poor people, they ransacked and pillaged whatsoever they could carry to *Susa*; and for the full accomplishment of their cruelty, they hanged upon a tree, a poor *Waldensian* woman, whom they met upon the mountain *de Meane*, named *Margret Athode*.

In the mean time, the *Waldenses* of the valley *Frassiniere*, who remained and had escaped this persecution, were again violently handled by the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, their neighbour, in the year 1460, that is, in the time of Pope *Pius* the second of that name, and of *Lewis* the eleventh, King of *France*.

H

This

This Archbishop named *John*, commissioned against the *Waldenses*, a certain Monk, of the order of the Frier-Minors, called *John Vayleti*, who proceeded with such diligence and violence, that there was hardly any person in the vallies of *Fraffeniere*, *Argentiere*, and *Loyse*, that could escape the hands of the said Inquisitor; for they were apprehended either as Hereticks, or favourers of them.

They therefore that knew nothing of the belief of the *Waldenses*, had recourse unto King *Lewis* the eleventh, humbly beseeching him, to stay by his authority, the course of such persecutions. The King granted unto them his letters, which may be thought good to insert at large; because by them it will be easy to know what the desire of the said Monks was, who intangled in their process many of the Romish religion, under colour of the Inquisition of the *Waldenses*.

The Letter of KING LEWIS XI.

LEWIS by the Grace of GOD, KING of
FRANCE, &c.

TOUCHING that part of the Inhabitants of the valley *Loyse*, *Fraffeniere*, *Argentiere*, and others of our Country of *Dauphiny*, it hath been certified, that notwithstanding they have lived, and are desirous to

to live as become good Christian Catholics, without bolding, or believing, or maintaining any superstitious points, but according to the ordinance and discipline of our mother the holy Church; yet nevertheless, some religious Mandians, who call themselves the Inquisitors of the faith, and others, thinking by vexations and troubles, to extort from them their goods, and otherwise to molest them in their persons, have been desirous, and still are, to lay false imputations upon them; that they hold and believe certain heresies and superstitions against the Catholic Faith; and under this colour, do vex and trouble them with strange involutions of process, both in our Court of Parliament in Dauphiny, and in divers other Countries and Jurisdictions

And to come to the confiscation of the goods of those whom they charge with the same offence, many of the Judges, yea, and the said Inquisitors of the faith themselves, being religious Mandians, under the shadow of the office of Inquisitors, have sent, and every day do send forth processes against those poor people, without a reasonable cause; putting some of them to the rack, and calling them in question without any precedent information, condemning them for matters whereof they were never culpable, as hath been afterwards found; and some, to set them at liberty, have taken, and exacted great sums of money; and by divers means have unjustly vexed and troubled them, to the great prejudice and hinderance, not only of the said suppliants, but of Us and the Weale-public, of our Country of Dauphiny.

We therefore being willing to provide against this mischief, and not to suffer Our poor people to be vexed and troubled by such wrongful proceedings, especially the Inhabitants of the said places, affirming, that they have always lived, and will live, as becometh good Christians, and Catholics; not having ever believed, nor held other belief, than that of our mother, the holy Church, nor maintained, nor will maintain, or believe any thing to the contrary; and that it is against all reason, that any man should be condemned of the crime of heresy, but only they, that with obdurate obstinacy will stubbornly maintain and affirm things contrary to our faith. We have by great and mature deliberation, granted to the said Suppliants, and do grant, and of our certain knowledge, and special consent, full power and authority royal, ordain by these Presents; that the said Suppliants, and all others of our Country of Dauphiny, be freed from their courts and process, and whatsoever process any of them shall have sent forth, for the causes above mentioned. We have of our certain knowledge, full power and authority royal, abolished, and do abolish, made, and do make of non-effect by these Presents, and we will that from all times past unto this day, there be nothing demanded of them, or wrong offered, either in body or goods, or good name. Except nevertheless there be any, that will obstinately and out of a hardened heart, maintain and affirm any thing against the holy Catholic Faith.

Moreover, we have willed and ordained, that the goods of the said Suppliants, and all other of our Country of Dauphiny,

Dauphiny, that for the causes above mentioned, have been taken and exacted of any person, in any manner whatsoever, by execution or otherwise; shall by the ordinance and command of our Court of Parliament of Dauphiny, or any other whatever, as also, all bills and obligations, which they have given for the causes abovesaid, whether it be for the payment of fees for the said process or otherwise; shall again be restored unto them, unto which restitution all such shall be constrained, that have in any thing, either by sale or spoil of their goods, moveables or unmoveables; by detention or imprisonment of their persons any way wronged them, until they have restored their goods, and things above mentioned, and obeyed; otherwise to be enforced by all due and reasonable means requisite in such a case, notwithstanding all appellations whatsoever, which our will is in any manner to be deferred.

Moreover we have forbid, and do forbid, for the cause aforesaid and the like, any of our Judges and Officers of our Subjects, to undertake any jurisdiction or knowledge, but all causes and processes in the said case, to be sent unto us, and those of our grand Council also; to whom, and not unto others, we have reserved the hearing and-determination. We therefore command, and directly enjoin you, that our Letters be put in execution from point to point, according to the form abovesaid, and not otherwise, as in such case is requisite. For it is our pleasure it should be done; and to do it, we give full power and authority, and commission, and special commandment. We charge and command all our Justices, Officers, Sub-

jects, Commissioners, and Deputies, to give their assistance for the due obedience thereunto.

Given at *Arras* the 28th Day of *May*, 1478.

The Archbishop of *Ambrun* ceased not to proceed against the accused ; yea, he was much more animated than before, grounding himself upon that clause of the aforesaid Letters ; *If there be not any found rebellious and refractory, and that obstinately harden themselves in their opinions.* And therefore he pretended not to do any thing against the aforesaid Letters, because they which had obtained them, made not their appearance in judgment, for their justification, verifying that they were neither obstinate nor rebellious. Moreover, the Archbishop extorted from the one part of the Inhabitants of *Frassinere, Argentiere* and the valley of *Ioyse*, a disclaiming of those requests presented to the King ; declaring that there were no people in *Dauphiny* less free from heresy, than they that were most forward to purge themselves before the King. He caused information again to be made, and that which we have observed in the said information is ; the witnesses produced by the Archbishop were almost all Priests or his Officeres. The Archbishop being thus strengthened by these witnesses, and the assertions of one *John Pelegrin*, who was corrupted with silver, to accuse the *Waldenses* of such ancient calumnies, as long since have been laid upon the Christians of the Primative Church ; that is, that they assembled themselves

selves together in dark places, to commit whoredom, the candles being put out; he sent to the Court, to justify himself against those informations given to the King, that he pursued the *Waldenses*, rather to get their goods, than for any zeal he bare to the Catholic faith: but this one witness prevailed but little, against many who would never depose any thing against their conscience; that they had ever seen amongst the *Waldenses*, any thing that had the least appearance of that villany, wherewith the aforefaid false witness had charged them. Nevertheless, the Archbishop ceased not to annoy the accused to the utmost of his power, in such sort, that wanting means to defray the charge, the greatest part of them betook themselves to flight; there being only amongst those that were persecuted, one *James Patineri*, who openly avered the unjust vexation, to the prejudice of the Letters obtained of his Majesty, and demanded a copy of the proceeding, that he might right himself by law. The Archbishop left him in peace, pursuing those that had not courage to oppose themselves against his violence. But the Consuls of *Frassiniera*, *Michael Ruffe*, and *John Girand*, sped not so well: For having been cited to appear before the Archbishop, to answer both in their own name, and for the inhabitants of their valley; having answered, that they had nothing to say before the said Archbishop, because their cause was then depending before the King and his Counsel, which they then openly avered, and demanded a copy of. The Archbishop being strangely moved against the said Consuls
for

for their contempt, sent them to the fire without any other indictment. But the Archbishop stayed not long after them; for he died, and not without an evident proof of the justice of God, presently after the said execution. Thus ended the persecution of the said Archbishop, and his Commissioner *John Veileti* in the year 1487.

Here we may observe a notorious villany in the process framed by this Monk *Veileti*: For in the said process were found certain bills, or tickets, in which the said Commissary took the answers of those that were accused, simply as they were taken from their mouths; but they were afterwards found strangely stretched, and many times quite contrary to that which was in the *sumptum*, as they call it; inverting and altering the intention of the said accused, making him to say that which he never thought of; as for example, do you believe, that after the words of the Sacrament are pronounced by the Priest in the Mass, the body of Christ is in the Host, in as gross a manner and as great, as it was on the cross? if the *Waldenses* shall answer no; *Veileti* set down the answer thus; *That he had confessed he believed not in God.* Again, Inquire, whether we ought not to pray unto Saints? if he answer, no; they set it down, that he railed and spake ill of the Saints. Inquire, whether we are to reverence the Virgin *Mary*, and pray unto her in our necessities? if he answer, no; they set it down in writing, that he spake blasphemy against the Virgin *Mary*.
Behold

Behold here the fidelity of the said Inquisitors, in a matter so important, and it could not be without the great providence of God, that such impiety should be preserved and kept unto this present time; that men might see with what spirit they were led, who cut the throats, and burnt the faithful of the Church, after they had oppressed them with impostures; demanding of us nevertheless, where were these of the faithful Church, which they have massacred before these times wherein we live.

Hitherto we have not found that any have hotly pursued the *Waldenses* by war, but *Albert de Capitaneis*, Archdeacon of *Cremona*, being sent against them by *Innocent* the eighth, in the year 1488, began to intreat the assistance of the King's Lieutenant in *Dauphiny*; who for this service levied troops of men, and marched to those places, where the said *Albert* told him there were any of the *Waldenses*, namely, in the valley of *Loyse*. And to the end the business should seem to be undertaken according to a form of justice, and to give the better authority to that which should be executed, the said Lieutenant of the King took in his company a Counsellor of the Court, named Mr. *John Rabot*. Being arrived at the said valley *Loyse*, they found none of the Inhabitants, to whom they might speak a word; for they had all retired into their caverns in the high mountains, having carried thither with them their little children, and whatsoever was most precious to them, and fit for nourishment. This Lieutenant
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of the King, caused a great quantity of wood to be laid at the entrance of their caves, and fire set to it, in such manner, that either the smoke by smothering them, or the fire by burning them, constrained a great number, to cast themselves headlong from their caverns upon the rocks below, where they ended their lives, being broken to pieces; and if there were any amongst them that durst stir, he was presently slain by the soldiers. This persecution was very extreme; for there were found within the said caverns, four hundred small infants, stifled in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers: Such are the effects of rage and bigotry which eradicate even justice and humanity.

It is held for a certain truth amongst the *Waldenses* of the neighbouring vallies, that there died then above three thousand persons, men and women of the said valley. And to say the truth they were wholly extirpated, in such sort, that from that time forward, the said valley was peopled with new inhabitants; there was no family of the said *Waldenses* that ever took footing there; which is a certain proof that all the inhabitants thereof of both sexes died at that time.

This Lieutenant of the King, having destroyed the said inhabitants of the valley *Laysse*, fearing lest the *Waldenses* should settle themselves there again; and to the the end they might not one day be troubled to chase them out again, he gave the goods and possessions of the said valley, to whom it pleased him; which

was

was no sooner parted amongst them, but the *Waldenses* of *Pragela* and *Fraissniere*, had provided for their safety, attending the enemy at the passages, and narrow straits of their valleys, in such manner, that when the said Lieutenant of the King came to invade them, he was constrained honestly to retire.

Albert de Capitaneis being called elsewhere by his Commission, deputed a certain Monk of the order of *St. Francis*, named *Francis Ploieri*, who began to inform anew against the *Waldenses* of *Fraissniere*. He cited them to appear before him at *Ambrun*; and for not appearing, he excommunicated them, cursed and recursed them; and in the end condemned them for Hereticks, pertinacious, and backsliders, to be delivered to the secular power, and their goods confiscated. To this judgment there gave assistance, in behalf of the Court of Parliament, in *Dauphiny*, a certain Counsellor thereof named *Ponce*, to the end that this mixt judgment might be without appeal. The sentence was pronounced in the great Church at *Ambrun*, afterwards fastened upon the door of the said Church in a great table, in the lower part thereof, there were thirty two Articles of the belief of the said *Waldenses*; that is to say, against the Mass, Purgatory, the Invocation of the Saints, Pilgrimage, the obsecration of Feasts, distinction of Meats on certain days, and other matters that were affirmed by the said *Waldenses*.

But

But this Inquisitor added to the Articles of their belief, that they held, that for the augmentation of human kind, a man might lie with his own sister, niece, or other in any degree of proximity whatsoever, because God hath said, *Increase and Multiply.*

Again, that every man that burneth in lust, may carnally know any woman whatsoever, without sinning; because the Apostle saith, that it is better to marry than to burn; and added, it is said in the Gospel, *qui potest capere capiat*, interpreting it thus, catch he that catch can.

Now the informations upon which they grounded their sentence being come to our hands, this imposture hath been discovered to their own condemnation; for there is not any witness, or at leastwise the greatest part of those that were heard, but they were Priests or Monks; who being demanded by the said Monk, whether they knew this belief contained in the aforesaid Articles to be true, answered, that they never knew, amongst the *Waldenses*, any such things either taught or practised.

In the same bundle of process against the *Waldenses*, there is one framed against two Pastors, who were taken, *about the Hill in the side of the Plain*, the one named *Francis Gerondin*, the other *Peter James*, in the year 1492. Being demanded why the Sect of the *Waldenses* grew and increased so fast, and for a long time together had spread itself into so many places.

places. This Monk set down the answer of the Pastor *Gerondin*; That the dissolute life of the Priests was the cause, and because the Cardinals were covetous, proud, luxurious, being a thing known unto all, that there was neither Pope, Cardinal, nor Bishop, that kept not their concubines; few or none that had not their youth for sodomy: And therefore it was an easy matter for the *Waldensian* Pastors, to persuade the people, that the religion of such scandalous persons was not good, since their fruits were so bad.

This persecution was very extreme; for the *Waldenses*, being condemned by the Inquisitor as Hereticks, were sent to the fire without appeal; and that which multiplied the number of those that were persecuted, was, that whoever did mediate for them, no matter who he were, whether it were the father for the child, or the child for the father, he was presently imprisoned, and his indictment framed, as a favourer of Hereticks.

In the year 1494, *Anthony Fabri*, Doctor and Canon of *Ambrun*, and *Christopher de Salliens*, Canon Vicar, and Official of the Bishop of *Valence*, had Commissions from the Pope, to commence suit against the *Waldenses* in *Dauphiny*. *Fabri* the Inquisitor, and one *Gobandi*, Notary of *Ambrun*, Secretary to the said Inquisitors, carried to *Ambrun*, a certain indictment, framed against the widow of one *Peter Berand*, of whom we do not make mention for her constancy, but because she delivered in her answers many things that may add something to this history.

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Being

Being therefore demanded whether she had seen, or understood of any of the Pastors of the *Waldenses*, she answered at the first, that she had not ; being resolved to answer to all interrogatories negatively. The Inquisitors ordained, that because she had not satisfied their demands, she should be conveyed to the prison of the Bishop of *Valencia*, who being threatened to be further urged touching the questions, confessed, that about twenty-five years since, there were two men cloathed in gray, that came to her husband's house ; and that after supper, the one of them asked her, Whether she had heard of a handful of people that are in the world, without which the world must have an end.

Having answered that she never heard thereof, but of one *Monsen Andre*, Parson of *Beauregard*, who often told her, that there was a small number of people in the world, without whom the world must perish ; and that then he likewise told her, that he was now come thither, to confer with her about that little flock ; and to give her to understand, that they were the men, that had learnt by the commandments of God, how to serve him ; and that they travelled about the world to instruct men, how they ought to adore and honour him, and to reform the abuses of the Church of *Rome*. Again, that among other things he told her, that we ought not to do any thing to another, which we would not have done to ourselves ; that we are to worship one God, who is only able to help us,
and

and not the Saints departed; that we ought not to swear; that we are to keep faith in marriage, and to keep holy the Sabbath Day; but that there were no necessity of observing other Feasts. That Ecclesiastical persons were too rich, which was the cause why they maintained their strumpets, and lived scandalously; and that the Pope is bad, rather worse than any other, and therefore he hath no power. Again, that he taught, that there was no Purgatory, but only Paradise for the good, and hell for the wicked. And therefore, all the singings and suffrages for the souls of the dead, by the Priests, availed nothing; nor the walks, and goings and comings of the Priests about the Church Yards. As also, that it was better to give to the poor, than to offer unto Priests; and that it was a vain thing to bow the knee before the image of Saints.

She was sent back to prison, and the next morning called again: But persisting in her former answer, she added, that the said Pastors had told her, that the Priests that received money for the Masses they sing, were like *Judas*, that sold his Master for silver; and they that gave money for their Masses, were like the Jews, that bought Christ with money.

These Inquisitors discharged this woman, until they were otherwise advised, having first drawn from her, whatsoever she knew of the assemblies of the *Waldenses*; of such persons as frequented them, of the places and times; which afterwards brought great trouble to

and not the Saints departed; that we ought not to swear; that we are to keep faith in marriage, and to keep holy the Sabbath Day; but that there were no necessity of observing other Feasts. That Ecclesiastical persons were too rich, which was the cause why they maintained their Arrogance, and lived scandalously; and that the Pope is bad, rather worse than any other, and therefore he hath no power. Again, that he taught, that there was no Purgatory, but only Heaven for the good, and hell for the wicked. And moreover, all the singings and suffrages for the dead, as he said, by the Priests, availed nothing, neither walks and goings and comings of the Priests about the Church Yards. As also, that it was better to give to the poor, than to offer unto Priests; and that it was a vain thing to bow the knee before the image of Saints.

She was sent back to prison, and the next morning called again: But persisting in her former opinion, she added, that the said Pastors had many Priests that received money for their services, and were like Judas, that sold his Master: And that they that gave money for their sins, were like the Jews, that bought Christ with money.

the said Churches of the *Waldenses*, and gain and prey to the Inquisitors.

In the year of our Lord 1497, the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, named *Rostain*, would know at his arrival, how things had passed until then, against the *Waldenses* of his Diocese; and finding that they who dwelt in the valley of *Fraffiniere*, had been excommunicated by the Inquisitors who had framed their Indictments; and that they had delivered them to the secular power; nothing hindering the sentence against them, but their flight; he would not enter into the said valley, though he were earnestly requested, by one *Fazion Gay*, an inhabitant of the said valley; saying, that they had been condemned by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and therefore he might begin his journey unto them, not consulting the Pope: but when their absolution shall be plain and apparent unto me, I will go to visit them.

King *Charles* the eighth of *France*, being dead, the said Archbishop took his journey to the coronation of *Lewis* the twelfth, in the year 1498, which being come to the knowledge of the said inhabitants of *Fraffiniere*, and knowing too well, that they had no reason to expect, that any thing in their favour could come from *Rome*; and that the Archbishop would be easily intreated, to enjoy those goods that had been confiscated by his predecessors; and that he would be unwilling to make restitution of those goods which they

they had annexed to his Archbishoprick; they resolved with themselves to send to King *Lewis* the twelfth, and to become humble petitioners unto him, that he would be pleased, to take some order for the restitution of their goods, which the said Archbishop, the Monks, Inquisitors, and divers others detained from them. The King committed this business, to his Chancellor, and his Counsel; The Chancellor speaking thereof to the Archbishop, he answered, that the restitution that they demanded, concerned not himself, because the said goods were confiscated by the Inquisitors long time before he was called to the Archbishoprick of *Ambrun*: But there were then at *Paris*, saith he, the President of *Grenoble*, and the Chancellor *Rabot*, that were able to answer to the said Articles, they being the men that had condemned them.

The *waldenses* on the other side, were very earnest that the said Archbishop might be enjoined to make restitution of their goods, because many parcels of the said goods were annexed to the demain of the said Archbishop; and that whensoever they demanded them, he sent to the Pope, to the prejudice of that which the late deceased King had ordered.

The Grand Council having taken knowledge of this business, ordained, that nothing should be innovated, in that which concerned the *Waldeuses* of *Frassinere*; the King having written to the Pope, that there might

the Apostolical Commissaries joined with the said Archbishop as Ordinary, to make an end of this business for this time.

For the prosecution of the said Ordinance, there were named for Apostolical Commissioners, a certain Confessor of the King, and the Official of *Orleans*, who came to *Ambrun*, the 4th of *July*, 1501. But although they addressed the King, and he wrote a letter, that they might have their property restored; yet nothing was restored, their enemies kept possession.

The Archbishop therefore, was the cause, why others kept still those goods in their possession, without any restitution; and though some particular persons were afterwards called in question, as namely, *Le Sieur de Montainar*, *de Rames*, and others, yet they could never have any remedy.

In the year 1560, the *Waldenses* of *Frassiniere* and *Pragela*, had their Churches furnished with Pastors, who held them in exercise of their religion; at that time wherein their enemies persecuted unto death, all those that made profession of the Reformation. The President of *Truchon*, made an oration to the States of *Provence*, assembled the same year, the sixth of *November*, on purpose to exterminate the said *Waldenses* of *Frassiniere* and *Pragela*; saying, that it was necessary to purge the old and ancient *Leven*, likely to make sour the whole Country of *Dauphiny*, if some course was not taken to prevent it. By these States

it was resolved by open force to extirpate them, and to this purpose Commissions were given forth to levy troops of men, and to pass into the said Vallies : But so soon as the drum was stricken up, and the men in arms throughout all *Provence*, the unexpected death of King *Francis* the second, altered the design ; and afterwards the said *Waldensian* Churches of *Dauphiny* continued, as they do still by the singular favour of God.

CH A P. IV.

The Persecutions of the Waldensian Churches in Piedmont.

THE *Waldenses* have had flourishing Churches in the vallies of *Piedmont*, *Angrangne*, *la Perouse*, the valley *St. Martin Lucerna*, and other bordering places time out of mind. It is held for certain amongst them, that they are a part of the *Waldenses* of *Dauphiny*, *Pragela*, *Fraissniere*, and other places their near neighbours ; and that in time being multiplied in so great abundance, that the country could not feed them ; they were constrained to disperse themselves at length, where they might best settle themselves. So dear, like brothers, have they been one to another, and notwithstanding they have ^{at} always oppressed with troubles ; yet with a most hearty love and charity, they have ever succoured one another,

other, not sparing their lives and goods for their mutual preservation.

The first troubles that the *Waldenses* of *Piedmont* endured, came from the report of certain Priests, sent thither by the Archbishop of *Turin*, who informed him, that the people committed to their charge, lived not according to the manners and belief of the Church of *Rome*; neither offering for the dead, nor caring for Masses, or absolutions, nor to get any of theirs out of the pains of Purgatory, by any of their usual means. The Archbishops of *Turin* have persecuted them, as much as lay in their power, making them odious to their Princes; who understanding the good report that their neighbours gave of their mild and honest conversation; and that they were a simple people, fearing God, without deceit or malice; loving integrity and plain dealing, always ready to serve their Princes; and that very willingly they yielded unto them all lawful obedience, and that with alacrity. Being in such grace and favour with the people their neighbours, that they endeavoured to bring into *Piedmont* to their service, their young people, and to provide nurses amongst them to bring up their young infants; the said Princes continued a long time in mind not to molest them: But the Priests and Monks that were frequent or amongst them, gaining nothing by this their belief, sary to maligned them with an infinite number of calumnies; and whensoever they went into *Piedmont* upon occasion of business, they always caught one or other, and delivered

livered them to the Inquisitors, and the Inquisitors to the executioner; in such manner, that there was hardly any town or city in *Piedmont*, in which one or other of them was not put to death. For *Jordin Tertian*, was burnt at *Suse*; *Hypolite Rouffier*, was burnt at *Turin*; *Villermin Ambrois*, was hanged at *Meane*; as also, *Anthony Hiun*: *Hugh Feneßtralles* being taken at *Suse*, was conveyed to *Turin*, where his bowels were torn out of his belly, and put into a bason, and he afterwards cruelly martyred; among which servants of God, there are some who have maintained that truth which they have known for above two hundred and fifty years, and others above a hundred and fifty. But amongst all the rest, the constancy of one *Catelin Girard* is worthy the remembrance; who being upon the block whereon he was to be burnt at *Reuel*, in the *Marquisite of Saluces*; he requested his executioners, to give him two stones into his hands, which they refused to do, fearing he had a purpose to sling at some one or other; but he protesting the contrary, at the last they delivered them unto him, who having them in his hands, said unto them; When I shall have eaten these stones, then shall ye see an end of that Religion for which you put me to death, and so cast the stones upon the ground. Let all persecutors know, they cannot overturn the work of God. *Acts* v. 39.

The fires were kindled until the year 1581, at which time they resolved to assault them by open force; because they perceived that the constancy of those
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whom they did publicly put to death, drew a great number of others to the knowledge of God ; they likewise found, that by this means they should never come at their purpose. And therefore they levied men to join with *Albert de Capitanis*, one put in Commission by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, and *Innocent* the eighth, the same persecuting tool that was in *Dauphiny*. There were eighteen thousand soldiers mustered, besides a great number of the inhabitants of *Piedmont*, who ran to the pillage from all parts. They marched all at once to *Angrongne*, *Lucerne la Perouse*, *St. Martin*, and *Bialet*, which is in the Marquisite of *Saluces* ; as also they raised troops in *Vaucluse* in *Dauphiny*, over-running the valley of *Pragela* ; to the end, that being bound to their own defence, they might not be able to favour their neighbours, the *Waldensian* Churches in *Piedmont*. All this was guided by the singular providence of God, is that they divided their troops by bands, rather out of their pride than for their better expedition. For notwithstanding they were all employed in their own defence, and could not succour one another, yet the enemy by this division did so diminish their forces, that they were every where beaten ; But especilaly in the valley of *Angrongne*, where they made their most violent assault. For as this levy of men could not be raised, without some intelligence, that it was against themselves, so accordingly they prepared themselves to receive them ; keeping themselves to the straight passages, where few men were able to make any assault ; being armed with certain
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long targets of wood, that did wholly cover them, from the arrows of their enemies, without any hurt to themselves. The foremost being thus armed and covered, the rest did good service, and with good advantage, with their bows and cross bows under the covert of the said targets; and as the enemy thought to draw near to the passages, the women and children being spectators, upon their knees, cried out in their own language, *O! God, help us.* At which the enemies making themselves merry; amongst others, one Captain *Saquet*, counterfeiting the women, was slain, and cast headlong from the mountain into a deep gulph, which to this day is called the gulph of *Saquet*. At the same time, a certain Captain who mocked the women, that prayed unto God, was killed with the shot of an arrow in the throat; which the soldiers perceiving, and that the rocks, the stones and the arrows covered them, they betook themselves all to flight; and the greatest part of them, cast themselves down from the rocks. This people observed another effect of the providence of God, and that is, that the enemies approaching to the strongest place by nature, which is the valley of *Angrongne*, called *le Pre de la Town*, where they might have fortified themselves, and made themselves masters of the said valley; God sent so thick a cloud, so dark a fog, that the enemies could hardly see one another, insomuch that they had no means of knowing the goodness of the place, or to stay there; whereupon the *Waldenses* gathered courage, followed the chase in such manner, that being all

all dispersed, and not seeing which way they went, the greatest part fell headlong down the mountains; and put themselves to flight, quitting themselves of their arms and their booty, which they had gotten at their entrance into the valley; where they had poured out their wine, their corn, and loaded their servants with their most precious moveables.

It pleased God to touch the heart of their Prince with some compassion for this poor people. It was *Philip* the seventh, Duke of *Savoy*, and Prince of *Piedmont*; who said, that he would not have that people, that had been always true, and most faithful and obedient unto him, to be rigorously handled; being contented that a dozen of the principal amongst them, should come to *Pignerol*, where he was, to ask pardon for all the rest; in that they had taken arms in their own defence, which he gave them to understand by a certain Bishop, whom he sent to *Praïfut*; they deputed the said dozen, to do whatsoever his Highness required of them: He received them lovingly, and forgave them all what was past during the war, paying a certain sum of money for the charges thereof. And forasmuch as he had been informed, that their young infants were born with black throats, and that they had four rows of teeth, and hairy; he commanded, that some of them should be brought to him at *Pignerol*; which was presently executed, and seeing them all fair perfect creatures, he was much displeased with himself, for that he was so easily persuaded to believe, that

that which was reported unto him touching this people, declaring, that his pleasure was; that from thence forward, they should live with the same liberties and prerogatives, as in former times, and as all his other subjects of *Piedmont* did.

Notwithstanding all this, the Monks, the Inquisitors, sent out proceffes every day, for as many of them as they could apprehend, and kept themselves in ambush in a certain Convent near unto *Pignerol*, from whence they delivered them to the secular power. This persecution continued to the year 1532, at which time they resolved to order their Churches in such sort, that the exercise which was before performed in secret, might be known of every one; and that their Pastors should preach the Gospel openly, that is to say, without the apprehension of any persecutions which might happen unto them.

His Highness was speedily advertised of this change, and much moved therewith, in such sort, that he commanded one *Pantaleon Berser*, to hasten into the said vallies with his troops of men; which he so readily performed, that before the people were aware of it, he entered their vallies with five hundred men; part on foot, and part on horseback, ransacking, pillaging, and wasting whatever was before them. The people leaving their plough and tillage, put themselves into their passages, and with their slings, charged their enemies with such multitudes of stones, and that with
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such violence, that they were constrained to fly, and to abandon their prey; many of them remaining dead upon the ground.

This news came presently to his Highness; being likewise told what experience had taught them before, that it was not the way to reclaim these people by arms, the places of their habitation being so favourable unto them; they knowing better the straits and passages of the country, than the assailants; and therefore there was nothing to be gotten, when the skin of one of the *Waldenses* must be bought with the loss of a dozen of his other subjects. He thought it therefore not good, to molest them any more by arms, but only that they should be taken by retail, one by one, as they came into *Piedmont*; and exemplary justice executed upon them, if they changed not their belief, that so by little and little they might be destroyed.

All this hindred not, they still persisted in their resolution. And to the end that all things might be done in order amongst them, they assembled themselves together, out of their vallies, to *Angrongne*, in the year 1535, on the twelfth of September, that is to say, all the heads of every family with their Pastors; of whom it was certified, that their brethren the *Waldenses* of *Provence* and *Dauphiny*, had sent into *Germany* their Pastors, *George Morrell*, and *Peter Masson*, to confer with *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, and other servants of

of God, who there preached the Gospel; touching the belief which they have had from the father to the son, time out of mind; in that they had found God had been very merciful and gracious unto them, in that he had preserved them undefiled in the midst of so many idolatries and superstitions, which have infested all Christendom in the ages past, under the tyranny of Antichrist.

And afterwards having read the letters of the said *Oecalampadius* and *Bucer*, which were sent unto them, as to their brethren the *Waldenses* of *Provence* and *Dauphiny*, the propositions or articles following, were read, approved, signed and sworn to, by all the assistants, with one mind and consent; to observe, believe, and retain amongst them inviolably, without any contradiction, as being conformable to the doctrine, which hath been taught them, from the father to the son, for these many hundred years; and taken out of the word of God, the chief of which, are as follows:

1. That Divine Service cannot be done, but in spirit and in truth; for God is a spirit, and whosoever will pray unto him, must pray in the spirit.

2. No work is called good, but that which is commanded by God; and no work is evil, but that which is forbidden by God.

3. A Christian may swear by the name of God, not any way contradicting that which is written in the

fifth Chapter of *St. Matthew*, provided, that he that sweareth, take not the name of the Lord in vain.

4. Auricular confession is not commanded of God; but the true confession of a Christian consisteth in confessing himself to God only, to whom belong honour and glory. There is another kind of confession, which is, when a man reconcileth himself unto his neighbour, whereof mention is made in *St. Matthew*, v. 23, 24. The third manner of confession is, when a man hath sinned publicly, and all men take notice of it; so he confess and acknowledge the fault publicly.

5. We must cease upon the Lord's day, from all our labours, as being zealous of the honour and glory of God; for the better exercise of our charity towards our neighbours, and our better attendance to the hearing of the word of God.

6. It is not lawful for a Christian to revenge himself upon his enemy, in any manner whatsoever.

7. A Christian may exercise the office of a Magistrate over Christians.

8. There is no certain time determined for the fast of a Christian; and it doth not appear in the word of God, that the Lord hath commanded, or appointed certain days of fasting.

9. Marriage is not forbidden to any man, of what condition soever he be.

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10. Whosoever forbiddeth marriage, teacheth a diabolical doctrine.

11. He that hath not the gift of continency, is bound to marry.

12. The ministers of the word of God, ought not to be changed from place to place, except it be for the greater benefit of the Church.

13. It is not repugnant to the apostolic rule, that ministers should possess any thing in particular, to provide for the support of their families.

14. Touching the matter of the Sacraments, it is concluded by the holy Scriptures, that we have but two sacramental signs, which Christ Jesus hath left us; the one is Baptism, the other the Lord's Supper, which we receive to shew what our faith is, as we have promised when we were baptized; as also, in remembrance of that great benefit, which Jesus Christ hath done for us, when he died for our redemption, washing us with his most precious blood.

These Articles being resolved upon by them, astonished the Priests that were amongst them; being out of all hope to see those people reclaimed, and brought unto the obedience of the Church of Rome by any force, much less of their own accord; and perceiving the door to be shut against their gain, they retired themselves without speaking a word. Upon this their

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retreat, the Mass vanished out of the vallies of the *Waldenses*. And because they had only the New Testament, and some books of the Old Testament, translated into the *Waldensian* tongue; they resolved speedily to send to press the whole Bible, their books being only manuscripts, and those but few. They sent therefore to *Newcastle in Switzerland*, where they gave fifteen hundred crowns of gold to a PRINTER, who brought to light the first impression of the French Bible which was seen in *France*: And in the year 1536, they sent to *Geneva*, one *Martin Gonin*, to provide, a large supply of such books as he should see to be fit for the instruction of the people; but they were frustrated of their intent, because this good man was apprehended for a spy, passing over the hill *de Gap*, by a certain gentleman named *George Martin*, Lord *de Champolion*; and so soon as he was known to be a *Waldensian*, he was sent to *Grenoble*, and there kept in prison; and afterwards, in the night-time, cast into the river *Lynere*, for fear lest he should speak of his belief before the people: For the Inquisitor, that delivered him to the secular power, told them, that it was not good that the world should hear him, because, saith he, it is to be feared, they that hear him, may become worse than himself.

There happened wars in *Piedmont*, between *Francis* the first, and the Prince of *Piedmont*, which fell out happily for these poor people; for so long as those confusions continued, they were quiet, until Pope
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Paul the third, solicited the Parliament of *Turin* to take some violent course against them, in doing justice upon them, as upon pernicious Hereticks, whensoever they should be delivered into their hands by the Inquisitors. This Parliament caused a great number to be burnt at *Turin*, in imitation of other Parliaments in *France*, who burnt in those times, those they called *Lutherans*.

They had recourse to the King, presenting unto him their petition, that they might not be persecuted by the said Parliament, for the Religion, in which they and their ancestors had lived for many hundred years; and by the permission of their Princes. But they made it worse with them than it was before; for the King enjoined them to live, according to the laws of the Church of *Rome*, upon pain to be chastised as Hereticks. He likewise commanded the Parliament at *Turin*, to cause all his subjects within their jurisdiction, to profess his Religion: This was during the dreadful reign of *Henry* the eighth, and *Mary*, in *England*, when so many were burnt for the same cause.

The Parliament endeavoured speedily to put the command of the King in execution; and for that reason enjoined them that upon pain of their lives, to quit themselves presently of their Ministers; and to receive Priests to sing Mass, living after the manner of the rest of the King's Subjects. They answered, that they could not obey any such commands against the commandment

commandment of God, whom, in what belongs unto his service, they had rather obey than men. But had not the King at that time had other employment elsewhere, without all doubt this Parliament would have made them do that by force, which they would not be brought unto by simple commands. They therefore contented themselves to prosecute them by the Inquisition, and to receive from the Monks, those they condemned to the fire.

But afterwards in the year 1555, they increased the persecution. For having condemned to the fire, one *Bartholomew Hektor*, a Stationer, who was executed at *Turin*, who died with admirable constancy; inso-much that he edified the assistants and standers-by, in such manner, that he drew tears from their eyes, and words of compassion from their mouths; justifying him with a mutual applause, of his good testimony, and prayers unto God. The Parliament took occasion hereupon, to do their best to overthrow this profession in the very source, and to use the authority of the King, to enforce this people to live under the laws of the Church of *Rome*, or miserably to perish. To this end, the Parliament of *Turin* deputed a certain President of *St. Julian*, and a Colleague named *de Ecclesia*, to transport themselves unto those places, and there to put in practice what they thought good; either to reduce, or exterminate the said people; with promise to assist them, with whatever should be need-ful

ful to this purpose, according to the advice and council they should receive from them.

This President with his Colleague, took their journey to *Perouse*, and caused a proclamation publicly to be made in the name of the King, that every one of the Inhabitants should go to the Mass, upon pain of his life. Afterwards, they came to *Pignerol*, where they cited many of them to appear before them. Amongst others, there appeared a poor simple labouring man, whom the President commanded to cause his child to be re-baptized, which had lately been baptized by the Minister of St. *John*, near *Angrongne*. This man requested so much respite, as that he might pray unto God, before he answered him. Which being granted with some laughter, he fell down upon his knees in the presence of all that were there; and his prayer being ended, he said to the President, that he would cause his child to be re-baptized, upon condition, that the said President would discharge him by a bill signed with his own hand, of the sin which he should commit in causing it to be re-baptized. Which the President understanding, he commanded him out of his presence, not pressing him any farther.

Now having framed divers indictments against some particular persons of the said vallies, and made some collections of whatsoever the President could imagine hurt the people, he attempted also to win them by the preachings of the Monks, whom he brought with him

him into the valley of *Angroux*. Being therefore come unto the place where their Temple was, he caused one of his Monks to preach in the presence of the people, who made unto them a long exhortation to return unto the Church of *Rome*, of which he reported many things which the people believed not.

After that the Monk had said as much as he would, the greatest number of the people required, that the Pastors that were there present, or some one of them for all, might be permitted, lovingly and mildly to answer to the discourse that had been made by the Preacher; but the President by no means would give way thereunto; whereupon there followed a certain rumour or muttering among the people, which struck the President and his Monks with an astonishment, in such sort, that they could have been content to have been elsewhere: But dissembling their fear, the President retired himself, without a word speaking, to *Turin*; whither being come, he related to the Parliament what he had done; and withal signified unto them, the difficulties that were, to win this people by extremities: because, if any attempt should be made to take them by violence, they were resolved to defend themselves; and the places of their abode being favourable unto them, it was feared, it would cost a great deal of labour; and much blood would be shed, before they could either be brought into the Church of *Rome*, or driven out of the world. That it was the work of a King to root them out, and a King of *France*;

France; and therefore it was necessary to send the reports, and to commit unto his will and pleasure, the issue of so troublesome an enterprize. This advice was followed, the indictments and reports were sent to the King; but as the affairs of Courts cannot be finished in a short time, there passed a whole year, before there was any other course taken against them, than that of the Inquisitors, who always delivered some one or other to the secular power; but the year being expired, there came from the Court, express commands of the King, to make them submit by force.

The Parliament sent again the said President of St. Julien, who so soon as he arrived at *Angrongne*, he commanded them, in the name of the King, to go to Mals upon pain of confiscation of bodies and goods; they demanded a copy both of his commission and his speech, promising to answer him in such a manner, that he should have reason to rest contented: But nothing could give the President satisfaction, who still pressed upon them to change their religion, but in vain. For they answered him, that they were not bound to such commands, against the commandment of God. He commanded that twelve of the principal amongst them, with all the Ministers and School-masters should presently yield their bodies to the prisons of *Turin*, there to receive such sentence as reason should require; and he enjoined the *Sindies* of the said vallies to banish all strangers immediately, and from thence forward not to receive any Preachers or School-masters,

masters, but such as should be sent by the Diocesan. They answered, that they could not obey any such commands as were against God, and that they would not make their appearance at *Turin*; because they could not do it without danger of their lives, and to be molested for their belief.

This Parliament of *Turin* was so incensed against them, that as many as they could apprehend in *Piedmont*, and the frontiers of the vallies, they burnt at *Turin*; among others Mr. *Jeffrey Varnigle*, Minister at *Angrongne*, was burnt in the year 1557, by whose death, the people were much strengthened and edified; there being present a great number, that saw him persist in calling upon the name of God, unto his last gasp.

During these grievous persecutions, the Protestant Princes of *Germany* interceded for them, beseeching King *Henry* the second, to suffer them to live in peace, in the profession of that Religion, wherein they had lived from the father to the son, for some ages past. The King promised to have regard to this their request; and indeed they continued quiet, until the peace was made between the King of *France* and *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* was restored to his citates.

In 1560, the year of the restitution of the country, the Pope's Nuntio reproved the Duke of *Savoy*, in that he followed not the steps of the Kings of *France* in his zeal; who affecting the *Romish* religion, had not

not with all his power, persecuted the *Waldenses* and *Lutherans* of the vallies of *Angrongne*, and other their bordering neighbours; and that if he did not join his forces to bring them into the bosom of the Church, or to take them out of the world; that his Holiness should have great reason to suspect him to be a favourer of them. The Prince of *Piedmont* promised to use all the means he could for their reduction or utter subversion; in pursuit whereof, he commanded them to go to the Mass, upon pain of their lives, and their vallies laid open to fire and sword. To which command they not yielding obedience, he set upon them by open force; and at the same time he caused them to be pursued by the Monks, the Inquisitors.

We may here observe, that after *la Trinite* had been well beaten, with his troops, seeing that the Lion's paw could stand him in no stead, he covered himself with the Fox's skin; telling them, that what had passed, had befallen them for want of parley and communication, rather than for any ill will that his Highness bore them; and that if his soldiers had exceeded their bounds, it was because of that resistance which they found; and that hereafter he would be an instrument for their preservation, and as desirous to procure their peace, as at the beginning, he shewed himself earnest to procure their trouble. And therefore he counseled them to send some of the principal amongst them to his Highness; by whom he would send his commendary letters, both to the

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Prince, and Madam *Margarite*, Dutches of *Savoie*, and only sister to *Henry* King of *France*; and that he did assure himself, that his Highness would blot out the remembrance of all that was past: But yet he thought it necessary, that above all things, they should give some testimony of their obedience to their Prince; who in other places was enforced by the Pope, to establish the Mass in all his territories; and therefore, they should permit the Mass to be sung in *Angrogne*, which was but a thing indifferent unto them; since he did not require their presence at it, but only that he might write unto his Highness, that they were his good and obedient Subjects. And moreover, that his Highness might not still persist in his opinion, that any strange Minister did make his abode within his Province; that it was in their power to intreat them, to retire themselves unto *Pragela*, for some few days; and that afterwards, when his Highness should be pacified towards them, they might call them home again.

It cost him a great deal of labour to gain thus much of them; for if we intreat our Pastors to retire themselves, say they, it will be a counsel of the flesh, and God will not bless it; for our enemies, when they shall have gotten this advantage of us; and we have no man left to comfort, counsel, to reprove, or to exhort us; they will endeavour no doubt, to the utmost of their power, ever to shut the gates against the return of our good Pastors, by whose ministry,
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we have been so worthily instructed, and fortified against a world of temptations.

God is as powerful to preserve us, as he hath been in times past; and ungrateful wretches we are to doubt of his assistance, and not to think, that we so miserable a flock, the dogs being chased away, shall not be devoured by the wolves.

These and divers the like were the speeches and motions of those that were most clear sighted, and more zealous than the rest; but yet this could not hinder others from intreating their Pastors, to retire themselves for some few days to *Pragela*, a valley near unto theirs, and peopled by their brethren, the *Waldenses of Dauphiny*.

Here a man might perceive the heavy judgment of God upon them, and the beginning of misery; every one to melt into tears, the rocks resounding with cries and lamentations; when even women and infants, conducted their Pastors to the high mountains, to pass over to the other part of them, to take their journey to *Turin*, into the midst of their enemies; many presaged the evil that would overtake them, and it seemed as if God had forsaken them, at that time when they had forsaken him in the person of his servants. It came to pass even as it had been foretold, by those that could not allow of the counsels of the flesh. For being arrived at *Turin*, they were presently

locked up in strong prisons; their indictments framed as against Hereticks; the passages guarded to hinder any that might give notice of the usage they received who were deputed on this service.

And in the mean time, *la Trinite* told them, that he knew that his Highness had agreed to all that they demanded, and that he had written to him, that he detained them for no other cause, but to assure him of their promises for time to come; to which purpose he likewise raised a Fort, which he built near *Angrongat*. Which made them think hardly of their affairs, in that they could hear nothing of their poor prisoners, and much less would *la Trinite* suffer them to send any thing thither. In the end, having a long time consulted with themselves what they should do, seeing a Fort built which might curb and bridle them forever, if they suffered it to be brought to perfection; and on the other side, fearing if they should attempt any thing against those that laboured therein, that it should cost them their lives whom they sent to *Turin*, they were in extreme perplexity, not knowing what course to take; for they found, that they had been mocked by *la Trinite*, and therefore it was necessary to commit the event to the providence of God; and to reconcile themselves to him by prayer and fasting; which when they had done, they called home their Pastors; implored the assistance of their neighbours of *Pragela*, who came unto them with their arms, entered into their Temple, wherein *la Trinite* had caused them to build Altars, and

and to place images, and overthrew the Altars, and laid them level with the ground; raised up the foundations themselves, brake down the images, besieged the Fort and took it; killed as many as made resistance; beat the succours that were sent to the said Fort; put them to flight, and slew a great number of them.

The Prince *Emanuel Philibert* being much offended herewith, would have revenged himself upon those that he kept in prison; but Madam *Margarite* interceding for them; pacified the Prince, shewing that it was necessary for them to consult with themselves, touching that usage his Highness had given to those that were deputed; and seeing themselves in the way to a total destruction, they had taken this oblique means to relieve and help themselves.

His Highness therefore, by the advice and instigation of the Pope's Nuncio, had enforced the said deputies to go to the Mass, and there to ask pardon of God, the Pope, and their holy mother, the Church of *Rome*, with promise to live according to the laws thereof; and afterwards sent them to prison, trusting in the strength of his Fort. But seeing himself frustrated in his expectation, he followed the course proposed by Madam *Margarite*; under which they have lived unto this day. True it is, that afterwards they suffered at sundry times, divers persecutions, which they bare patiently, and with much zeal.

Among the rest, that in the year 1570, was very extreme. For the Prince being entered into an offensive league against the Protestants, with many other Princes of Europe, he began to trouble and vex his said Subjects of the vallies of the *Waldenses*: First by forbidding them to have any commerce with the *Waldenses* of *Dauphiny*, upon pain of their lives; and secondly, to assemble themselves in any Synod or Consultation, but in the presence of the Governor of *Castrocaro*; for the fulfilling whereof, he failed not to be present at the first Synod, which they called at *Babi*.

The Pastors and Elders that were there, signified to the said Governor, that his assistance in their Synods was no way displeasing to them; because the matters that were to be handled, were such, as if the whole world were witness unto them, the more would their piety towards their God appear, and fidelity towards their Prince; being to deliberate nothing, but what might tend to the glory of God, and their obedience to their superiors. And forasmuch as his Highness took occasion to distrust them, it must needs be the false information of some of their enemies; and therefore assuring themselves in their own consciences, that they had never deserved it, they could not but take this for a manifest breach of the treaty and agreement he had made with them. They intreated therefore the Governor of *Castrocaro*, to retire himself, and not to molest them by any such an innovation, until they having justified themselves before his Highness, it might

might be otherwise ordered by him. The Governor still resolved to stay there. The Pastors and Elders declared against the said novelty; the Governor also protested not to engage in any thing, but by the express commandment of his Highness; and that they should be better satisfied, that he had that charge than any other; because he was willing to do them any good that might be in his power.

He was therefore admitted into their Synod, at the end whereof, he used this subtilty; that is, he attempted to sow envy and jealousy amongst the Pastors, giving good words in general, that he had found their order sound and good; and that he never believed, that they had proceeded with such zeal, order, and charity; but yet there was no reason to wonder, that his Highness had been jealous and distrustful of strange Ministers; because he knew very well, that they were more violent in their opinions, than the natives, at least, the greatest part; and therefore, that since his Highness had resolved not to permit any stranger to inhabit within his land, he could not believe, that Ministers were more exempted than other men; and to the end he might not be constrained to use his power and authority, to force them to withdraw themselves out of those countries; they would do well, if of their own accord, they departed somewhere else; which would be far better and more honourable for them, than that they should stay, till the Prince should force their departure. They answered, that they could

could not believe, that his Highness had any such meaning, as the Governor would seem to persuade them. But that they might be the better informed of the truth thereof, they would depute some amongst them, to go to his Highness.

The Governor being much moved, that they would give no credit to his words, nor do any thing by his persuasions, suffered the soldiers of *Castrocaro*, to compass the Church, at the time the Preacher was in the pulpit, and firing their guns, astonished those who were disarmed, and thought themselves surpris'd. Mr. *Steven Noel* was intrèated to write to Madam *Margarite*, which he did; but the letters by which Madam assured them, that the Governor had commandment from his Highness, to keep himself within the limits of the treaty betwixt his Highness and the people, remained still in the hands of the said Governor; and in the mean time, whilst these things were on foot, the Massacre in *France*, in the year 1572 happened; which in such a manner puffed up the pride, and increased the courage of the said Governor, that there was no means to stay his violence: For the bonfires of joy being made throughout all *Piedmont*, because of this effusion of blood, this Governor persuaded himself, that he should shortly see the same persecution in the vallies; and therefore the people hearing the cannons, and the great satisfaction that his Highness took, they persuaded themselves that they should not long continue in peace; and therefore they thought
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their surest course was, to convey those goods that were most valuable, to the top of the *Alps*, into the hollow caves whereunto they had been accustomed to retire themselves in troublesome times.

After his Highness, and Madam *Margarette* departed this life, *Charles Emanuel* their son, and Prince of *Piedmont* maintained them in peace, under the treaty made by their said Highnesses, his father and mother. Notwithstanding, the Inquisitors have been always watchful to apprehend one or other, especially to hinder them from speaking of their belief, when they came down into *Piedmont*.

The last who hath been persecuted for this cause, was a certain merchant of *Lucerna*, whose History we will here insert, because by his constancy he did much edify the people.

In the year 1601, *Bartholomew Copin*, a *Waldensian* of the valley of *Lucerna*, was at *Ast* in *Piedmont*, with his merchandize, at a Fair that should be held the next day; and being at supper in the evening, with diverse other merchants, there was one that began a discourse on the diversities of Religion, and spoke many things to the dishonour of the *Waldenses* of the vallies of *Angrangne*, and their bordering neighbours. *Copin* hearing him, thought it would be a fault, if he should make no reply to those blasphemies that he heard; He therefore answered the party that held this discourse, in favour of his Religion; And what, faith

faith he that had been reprehended by *Copin*, are you a *Waldensian*? He answered, Yea. And do you not believe, that God is in the Host? No, saith *Copin*. Fie upon you, replies the other, what a false Religion is yours? My Religion, saith *Copin*, is as true, as that God is God, and as I am sure I shall die. The next day *Copin* was called before the Bishop of *Ast*, who told him, that he had been apprised of certain scandalous discourses and opinions, which the day before he held at his lodgings; and that he must acknowledge the offence, if he would obtain pardon, otherwise he would take order for his punishment.

Copin answered, that he had been provoked thereunto; but he had said nothing, that he would not maintain at the peril of his own life; that he had some goods in the world, and a wife and children; but neither were they dear unto him, to the prejudice of his conscience. And as touching his behaviour, if it would please the Bishop to enquire of the merchants of *Ast*, who all knew him, whether he were an honest man, they would all witness for him, that he had never wronged any man, in that whole time he had traded and conversed with them; and being a merchant, he ought to be dismissed, and therefore not to be molested. That if Jews and Turks were permitted to come to Fairs, and to traffic throughout all *Piedmont*, much more should he be permitted, who was a Christian; especially, since he did but answer to a question moved unto him; and that it was lawful for
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any man to answer, and give a reason of his faith, to whom, and in what place soever; even by that treaty and agreement between the *Waldenses* of the vallics, and his Highness, which forbids them to broach new opinions; but takes not from them the liberty to answer, to whomsoever shall ask any questions of them.

The Bishop hearkened not to these allegations; but gave command, that he should be sent to prison. The day after, the Bishop's Secretary came to visit *Copin*, and making great profession of love towards him; he said, he would have him know, as from his friend, that if he did not acknowledge his fault, he would be in great danger of his life.

Copin answered him, that his life was in the hands of God, and he would never desire to preserve it to the prejudice of his glory; and forasmuch as he had but two or three paces to walk in his journey to Heaven, his hearty prayer unto God was, that he would be pleased to give him grace, not to turn back. A few days after, he was examined by an Inquisitor, in the presence of the Bishop; who tormented him a long time with sweet and gentle persuasions, endeavouring to win him by fair words, to the abjuration of his belief: But *Copin* always confuted him by the word of God; alledging unto him, that if he should be ashamed of Christ Jesus, or deny him before men, Christ would be ashamed of him, and deny him before his Father in Heaven.

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The Monk ended his disputation with these and the like threatening speeches; Go, thou cursed Lutheran, to all the devils in hell; and when thou shalt be tormented by those unclean spirits, thou wilt remember those good and holy counsels, which have been given thee, to bring thee to salvation; but thou hadst rather go to hell, than to reconcile thyself to our holy mother the Church. It is long since, saith *Copin*, that I was reconciled to our mother the Church.

After many violent encounters, they caused his wife and a son of his to come unto him, promising him liberty, and to depart with them, if he would amend his fault by confessing it. They suffered his wife and son to sup with him in prison, which time he spent in exhorting them to patience; the wife, for that she should want a husband, and the child a father; but yet should assure themselves, that God would be their father, and more than a husband: And for his own part, he was not bound to love either wife or children more than Christ; and that they should hold it to be no small happiness, that it had pleased God to do him that honour, as to be a witness unto his truth, with the loss of his life; and that he hoped that God would be so favourable unto him, as to give him strength to endure all manner of torments for his glory.

He committed to the care and charge of his wife, his son and his daughter, which they had in marriage, enjoining

enjoining her to bring them up in the fear of God. He commanded his son to obey his mother, for so he should draw down upon him the blessing of God; he desired them to pray for him, that God would be pleased to strengthen him against all temptations; and so having blessed his son, and taken leave of his wife, they were dismissed out of prison, and he locked up where he was before. His wife and child shedding fountains of tears, and crying out in such a lamentable manner, as would have moved the hardest hearts to compassion.

This good man not being contented with what he had said unto them by word of mouth, writ unto her the following Letter :

Most dear companion, I have received much comfort by your coming into this place, and so much the more, by how much the less I expected it: And I think it was some comfort to yourself, that you had the means to sup with me. I know not the cause why this was permitted, but all things are in the hand of God; and whatsoever were the cause, I do not think we shall ever eat together again. And therefore pray God to be your comforter, and put your trust in him, who hath promised never to forsake those that trust in him. You are wise, and therefore govern our house in such sort, that you keep our children in obedience; whom I command, by that authority which God hath given me, to be faithful and obedient unto you, for then God will bless them. For the rest, be not grieved

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concerning myself, for if God hath appointed, that I am come to the end of my days, and that it pleaseth the Almighty, that I shall render up my soul, which he hath long time lent me, my trust in him is, that out of his abundant mercy, he will receive it into Heaven, for the love of his Son Christ Jesus; by whom I believe, that our sins are blotted out, even by his precious death and passion.— And I beg at his merciful hands, that he will accompany me to the end, by the powerful assistance of his holy Spirit. Be always careful to pray unto God, and to serve him, for so God will bless and serve you. Take no care to send me any thing for these three weeks; and then you may send me, if you please, some money to pay the Tailor, and something else to succour me, If I live till then. Remember also that which I have often told you, that is, that God prolonged the life of King Hezekiah for fifteen years; but that he hath prolonged mine a great deal more; for it is a long time ago, that you have seen me in a manner dead, and nevertheless I am yet alive; and I hope for certain, that he will still preserve me alive, until my death shall be for his glory, and mine own felicity, through his grace and mercy towards me.

From the Prison at Aft, Sept. 16, 1604

The Bishop of Aft was much troubled, what to determine concerning this poor man: For if he should let him go, they feared a scandal, and that many would take courage, to speak with a loud voice against the Romish Religion. On the other side, there was a clause

clause in the treaty made between his Highness and the *Waldenses*, which cleared him from all offence, in these words: *And if any questions shall be moved unto them, touching their faith, being in Piedmont with other his Highness' Subjects, it shall be lawful for them to answer, not incurring thereby any punishment real or personal.* Now he was asked the question, and therefore was free from blame: But the Bishop would not have it said, that he had committed him to prison unjustly. To the end therefore, that his death might not be imputed unto him, and it might not be said that he sent him away absolved; he sent his indictment to Pope *Clement* the eighth, to understand what course he should take herein. It could never be known what answer the Bishop had; but shortly after he was found dead in prison; not without some appearance, that he was strangled, for fear lest if he should have been publicly executed, he might edify and strengthen the people by his confession and constancy. After his death he was condemned to be burnt; and so being brought out of prison, his sentence was read in the same place, and cast into the fire. And this was the last of the *Waldenses*, that is come to our knowledge, that hath been persecuted to the death for his belief in *Dauphiny*.

CHAP. V.

The Persecutions of the Waldenses inhabiting the Vallies of Meane and Maites, and the Marquisate of Saluces.

AT the time the *Waldenses* of *Dauphiny* dispersed themselves in *Piedmont*, there were some that made their abode in the *Marquisate of Saluces*, in the vallies of *Maites* and *Meane*, and parts thereabouts. These were not overlooked during the grievous persecutions, which their brethren of the vallies of *mngrenagne*, *St. Martin*, and others suffered. All their refuge was to fly into the said vallies, when the Governors of the *Marquisate* persecuted them by the command of the Kings of *France*; who condemned to death, within their Realms all such as made profession of the same belief. King *Henry* the fourth, having given his Subjects an edict of pacification, called the edict of *Nantz*, from the place where it was ratified; the *Waldenses* who lived in the *Marquisate*, enjoyed the same privileges, that the other Subjects did of the same Realm; but when afterwards by the treaty with the Duke of *Savoy*, *la Bresse* was changed for the *Marquisate of Saluces*, the poor *Waldenses* were deprived of the free exercise of their Religion, within the jurisdiction of the said *Marquisate*; for at the instance of the Nuncio of Pope *Clement* the eighth, the free liberty of their Religion was not only interdicted, but by a new edict all they were banished, that within the said

Marquisate,

Marquifate, made profeffion of any other Religion, than that of the Church of *Rome*: And for the furtherance of their departure, there were ſent to the ſaid vallies, a great number of Inquiſitors, who went from houſe to houſe; examining the conſciences of every one; by which means there were above five hundred families baniſhed, who retired themſelves into *France*, but eſpecially into *Dauphiny*. And that it might not be caſt in their teeth, that they were baniſhed out of their countries, for ſome wickedneſs which they had committed, but that it was only the zeal they bare to their Religion, that had made them wanderers in the world, they made the following Declaration, in the year 1603.

Foraſmuch as time out of mind, our Predeceſſors have been inſtructed and nourished in the doctrine and religion of which from our infancy we have made open profeſſion, and have inſtructed our families, which we have learnt of our fore-fathers; who by an expreſs treaty and agreement, made with our Sovereign Prince and Lord, have enjoyed unto this preſent, the free exerciſe of the reformed religion; but his Highneſs being perſuaded by evil counſel, and ill affected people, rather than his own will, hath reſolved to moleſt us, and to that end hath publiſhed an edit. To the end therefore that it may be made known to all men, that it is not for any crime committed, either againſt the perſon of our Prince, or for any rebellion againſt his edicts, or the committing of any murders or theſt, that we

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are thus tormented, and spoiled of our goods and houses; we declare, that being certainly assured, that the doctrine and religion taught and followed in the reformed Churches, as well in France, Switzerland, Germany, Geneva, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, as other Realms, Countries and Signories; whereof we have unto this present time, made open profession, under the obedience of our Princes and Sovereign Lords, is the only true doctrine, and Christian religion, ordained and approved of God, which only can make us agreeable unto him, and conduſt us to ſalvation. We are reſolved to follow it, with the loſt of our lives, goods and honours; and to continue therein the remainder of our lives. And if any ſhall pretend that we are in an error, we require him to make us ſee our error; and offer ſincerely to abjure, and likewise promiſe, to follow that which ſhall be proved to be the better; deſiring nothing ſo much, as with an aſſured and ſafe conſcience, to follow the true and lawful ſervice, which we poor creatures owe unto our Creator; and by that means to attain to the true and eternal felicity. We therefore humbly beſeech his Highneſs, whom we acknowledge to be our lawful Prince, not to ſuffer us to be moleſted without cauſe, but rather permit us to continue ſo long as we live, and our children and poſterity after us, in that obedience and ſervice, which unto this day we have rendered unto him, as faithful and loyal Subjects; and ſo much the rather, becauſe we demand nothing of him, but that which we are bound unto by expreſs commandment of God; it may likewise be lawful for us, to render unto
God,

God, that homage and service, which we owe unto him; and he requires at our hands in his holy word.

Beseeching the reformed Churches to hold and acknowledge us, to be true members thereof; being willing to seal with our blood, if God will have it so, the Confession of Faith made and published by them; which we acknowledge in all things, and throughout conformable to the doctrine, taught and written by the holy Apostles, and therefore truly Apostolical. And if so doing, we be afflicted and persecuted, we yield hearty thanks unto God, who hath done us that honour to suffer for his name; leaving the issue of our affairs, and the justice of our cause, in the hands of his divine providence, who will deliver us, when and by what means it pleaseth him. Humbly beseeching him, that as he hath the hearts of Kings and Princes in his hands, he will be pleased to mollify the heart of his Highness, to take pity on those, that have never offended him; or purpose to offend him. In the meantime that God would be pleased to support us in the midst of these temptations, and strengthen us with patience and constancy, to persevere in the profession of the truth unto the end of our lives, and our posterity after us. Amen.

This persecution hath continued unto this present year 1624, at the instance of Pope *Paul* the fifth; and his Nuncio; who still vexes this poor people, by his Monks, the Inquisitors. They have forced some to alter their opinions, who had no power to quit themselves of their goods; but have accommodated themselves

themselves to the world: Yet the greatest number persisted constant in calling on the name of God, chusing rather to be banished here on earth, from their native countries, than to be deprived of eternal life; hating their possessions, their country, their houses, being the places where they could not inhabit, without the denial of Christ and his truth.

CHAP. VI.

The Persecutions of the Waldenses inhabiting in the New Lands.

THE *New Lands* are in the *Alps*, in the Frontiers of *Piedmont*, *Dauphiny*, and *Provence*, the chief City is *Barcelona*. Within the said Lands, there are certain Villages, which have been peopled by the *Waldenses* time out of mind, placed in the best part of the said Lands. These places have continued a long time, the Princes of *Piedmont* not regarding the abode of the said people within their Provinces: But the Priests made them odious to the world, because they were unprofitable unto them, by not living after the manner of other people, who contributed unto them for the living, and for the dead; in such sort, that when his Highness persecuted those who had quitted the Romish Church, these were not forgotten; especially when the Governors of the said valley

valley opposed themselves against them. These were therefore summoned in the year 1576, to go to the Mass, or to forsake the country, wherein they found not better means to help themselves, than to join themselves unto others, who being threatened with the same banishment, had recourse to the Protestant Princes; beseeching them to intreat their Prince, that he would be pleased, not to trouble them for their belief, which they had professed for many hundred years, during which time, their Princes have not had any Subjects, that have yielded them more obedience than they.

The Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine* delegated to the Prince of *Piedmont*, a Counsellor of State, with certain other honourable personages. Being arrived at *Turin*, they saluted his Highness in the name of the said Prince *Palatine*, and delivered their Letters of Credence. He was heard by the Prince *Emanuel Philibert*, very peaceably. This Counselor gave him to understand, that only charity of their Master, towards Christians of the same Religion, that he professed, had moved him to mediate for them; that his Highness would be pleased to suffer them to live peaceably in the exercise of their Religion, not offering any violence to their consciences: That he would account this benefit as done unto himself, and he should oblige him, and all the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who likewise made the self-same request by their mouths. That God would be more favourable, and his Subjects
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more faithful, if he did not shew himself inexorable : That the confusions which have happened in all the States of Kings and Princes, who have endeavoured to regain and reclaim the souls of their Subjects by arms, and to reduce them by violence. That they who have not used rigorous courses, have won the hearts of their people to be the most faithful unto them; this means being in his power, they humbly besought him to imitate herein, the most good and gentle Princes.

It appeared by his Highness' answer, that he took but little pleasure in this intercession; but much more by the effects that followed. He answered, that notwithstanding that for his part he made no enquiry how the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and other Princes of *Germany*; governed their Subjects; and being a Sovereign Prince, he was not to yield an account unto any, of his course and resolutions; yet nevertheless, he thanked the said Prince, and all the rest that were charitable unto him, and his Subjects, as to wish their happiness and peace: But that the miseries and calamities that have happened amongst them, by the diversity of Religions, had made him to desire to have in his State but only one; which must be that which he there found, and in which he had been brought up; for fear lest under the mantle of Religion, and liberty of conscience, he must dispute with his Subjects as a companion, of those things which by just title were in
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his power to determine as a master; as it had happened to other Princes in Europe; that in this case had no power to rule their Subjects as Sovereigns. And that it might appear unto them, that he loved peace, he had maintained his Subjects, the *Waldenses*, dwelling in his State, in the vallies of the *Alps*, under an edict which he caused to be observed inviolably. That if without the said vallies he had in his State, any itching busy spirits affecting novelties, those he caused to be punished as Rebels.

Such is the language of ignorance, pride and bigotry, when either Priests or Princes are determined to usurp the prerogative of their Maker. In such cases they are not prescribing to men, but to God; plainly telling him, that if he will not accept of such worship as their pride or lucre will admit him, he shall have none at all. Is this right, for a poor, sinful worm of the earth to prescribe to his Maker? Is not this the language of Lucifer? who said, *I will be like the most High.* Ha. xiv. 14. But to proceed:

And because they had spoken particularly of a certain Minister, named *Giles*, whom he detained locked up in a dungeon, he caused him to be brought forth, and placed in a chamber; and after enquiry made of what he was accused, that is, that he had writ to those of *Gairva*, to the prejudice of his service, he set him at liberty. He discharged a certain captain of a Castle of the valley *Maurm*, for some thing he had done against

against the *Waldenses* of the said valley; but for the
 rest, the Counsellor was hardly gone half way home,
 when the persecution grew greater than it was before.
 Amongst others, the Governor of the *New Lands* in
 the end of November following, proclaimed with the
 sound of a trumpet, that whosoever would not within
 the space of a month go to Mass, were to avoid the
 lands and territories of his Highness within that time,
 upon pain of confiscation of body and goods. These
 poor people of the *New Lands*, could convey them-
 selves to no place without danger of their lives. For
 in *Provence* they burnt those whom the Parliament of
Aix called Lutherans. In the territories of *Honorat*,
 Earl of *Tendes*, they were delivered into the hands of
 the executioners. In *Dauphiny*, as many as the Arch-
 bishop of *Ambrun* could apprehend, he caused either
 to rot in the dungeons, or to perish in the Tower *Brun*,
 with cold and famine; and out of *Piedmont* they were
 banished. There remained no other succour but in
 the dead time of winter, to make their passage by
 night over a high mountain almost inaccessible, covered
 with ice and snow, into the valley of *Frassiniere*, if
 possibly they could. They therefore betook them-
 selves unto the mountain, about the feast of the Nativ-
 ity of our Lord, in the coldest time of all the year.
 But before they could come to the height thereof, the
 greatest part of the women and children were benum-
 med with cold; and the night overtaking them, being
 in the top of the hill, they were forced to lie upon
 the ice, where a great part of them in the morning
 were

were found dead ; so that few of them were able to reach their friends at *Praschiere*. Thus were these poor sheep driven from their habitations, in the depth of winter, to perish with hunger and cold ; for no other reason but that of worshipping God according to his word : No rebellion, or sedition were objected to them ; no thefts or murders ; they were honest, industrious, humane, and pitiful ; but as they chose to obey God rather than men, they were not suffered to live. Such are the effects of ignorant bigotry. Reader, keep thy self clear of this mark of the beast.

CHAP. VII.

The persecution of the Waldenses in Calabria.

ABOUT the year of our Lord 1370, the *Waldenses* of the valleys of *Pragela* and *Dauphiny*, grew to so great a number in so small a country, that they were forced to send away a number of their young people to seek some other country to inhabit. In their travel they found in *Calabria* certain waste land, and ill peopled, but yet very fertile, as they might well judge, by those parts near adjoining. Finding the country fit to bring forth corn, wine, oil of olives and chesnuts; and that there were hills fit for the breeding and nourishing cattle, and to furnish them with fuel and timber for building; they came unto the lords of those places to treat with them touching their abode there.

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The said lords received them lovingly, agreed to their laws, and orders, to the great advantage of these new inhabitants; and came to an agreement with them touching their rents, tithes, tolls, and penalties; in case there should happen any differences or offences among them; and so having assigned unto them certain part of the country, they returned, for the most part of them, to inform their parents of the good adventure which had happened to them in a rich country, likely to abound in all temporal blessings.

They brought back with them from their parents and friends, some necessities, to begin their house-keeping; many of them brought their wives into *Calabria*, where they built small towns and cities, as *Saint Xist*, *la Garde*, *la Vicaricio*, *les Rouffes*, *Argentine*, *Saint Vincens*, and *Montalieu*.

The lords of the country thought themselves happy in that they had met with such good subjects, as had peopled their lands, and made them to abound with all manner of fruits; but principally because they found them to be honest men and of good conscience, yielding unto them all those duties and honours, that they could expect from the best subjects in the world. Only their priests complained, that they lived not as other people did, they made none of their children priests or nuns; they loved no chaunting, tapers, lamps, bells; no, nor masses for their dead.

They

They had built certain temples, not adorning them with images; they went not on pilgrimage: they caused their children to be instructed by certain strange schoolmasters, to whom they yielded a great deal more honour than to them, paying nothing to them but their tithes, according to the agreement with their lords. They doubted that the said people made profession of some particular system, which hindered them from mingling themselves, and joining in alliance with the natives, and that they had no good opinion of the Church of *Rome*.

The Lords of those places began to fear, that if the Pope should take notice, so near his seat, there were a kind of people who contemned the laws of the *Romish* Church, they might chance to lose them; detained their Priests from complaining of these people, who in every thing else steered themselves to be honest men, such as had enriched the whole country, yea and the Priests themselves; for even the tithes which they received of that great abundance of fruits, which arose from those lands, out of which in former times they received no profit at all; and therefore they might very well bear with other matters. They were come to inhabit in those places from far Countries, where perhaps the people were not so much given to the ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*; but yet since they were faithful and honest, charitable towards the poor, and such as feared God, they were very unwilling they

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should

should be molested, by any particular enquiry into their consciences.

These reasons wrought much, even in those that bore them ill will. For the Lords of those places, stopped the mouths of their murmuring neighbours, who could by no means draw them into any alliance with them; and who saw their goods, their cattle, and all that they had blest after a more particular manner than other men; that they were a temperate people, wise, not lewd or dissolute; not given to dancing, or haunts of taverns; and out of whose mouths, there never proceeded any blasphemy; and to be brief, living in a country where the inhabitants were given to all manner of wickedness; they were as precious stones in a common flint, and therefore both envied and admired; but yet always maintained by their Lords, who comparing these subjects and vassals with others that they had, could not satiate themselves with their praises. Thus were they maintained by their Lords in spite of their Priests, until the year 1560, at which time they could no longer defend them against the Pope's thunderbolts.

Because they then understood, that in the vallies of *Pragela* and *Piedmont*, there were Pastors, that with a loud voice did preach the gospel: For they had sent to *Geneva* to be furnished with teachers, and they sent them two, namely, *Stephen Negrin*, and *Lewis Paschal*, who at their arrival, did their best to establish the exercise

case of their religion. . . . Pope *Pius* the fourth, being advertised hereof, the College of Cardinals was assembled, and presently resolved upon the utter ruin and extirpation of this people, who so near the Pope's seat, durst plant the religion of the *Lutherans*.

The charge of this persecution was given to Cardinal *Alexandrin*, a violent man, if there were ever any amongst the Cardinals. He chose two Monks of his own humour, to be his informers, who began with the inhabitants of Saint *Xist*. Being in the place, they assembled the people, giving them good words, and protesting that their coming thither, was not to molest them, but lovingly to inform them, that they were not to hear any other doctors and teachers, than those which should be given unto them by the prelates of their diocese. They knew well, that they had received teachers from *Geneva*, but by quitting themselves of them, and living hereafter according to the laws of the Church of *Rome*, they should have no cause to fear anything; but if they presumed to keep their teachers amongst them, they would put themselves in danger of their lives, their goods, and honours; because they were to be condemned for heretics. And that they might the better know who they were that had wholly forsaken the Church of *Rome*, they caused a bell to ring to *Masa*, inviting the people to go thither; but instead of going to the *Masa*, they quitted their houses, and with their wives and children, who were able to follow them, fled into the woods, leaving only within

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the city a few decrepit men and women, and little children.

The Monks overlooked this flight, that they might the better entrap them all at once at *la Garde*, not threatening any one of those that stayed in Saint *Xist*. Being there, they caused the gates of the town to be locked, and the people assembled. They told them that they of Saint *Xist* had abjured their religion, and being gone to the Mass, had asked pardon at God's hands, promising them, if they would do the like, that no man should offer them the least harm.

These poor people thinking the Monks had spoken truth unto them, were content to yield to whatsoever they would have them do; but when they had understood that their brethren of Saint *Xist* had refused to go to Mass, and that they were fled into the woods, they were ashamed of their weakness, and much displeased with their revolt; and therefore instantly resolved with themselves to go with their wives and children, to their brethren of Saint *Xist*. But the lord of the place would not suffer them to retire in so miserable a manner, promising to defend them against their enemies, provided that they carried themselves like good Roman Catholics.

In the mean time the monks sent after those of Saint *Xist* two companies of foot, who ran after these poor people.

people, as after wild beasts, crying out, *Amassa, amassa*, that is, kill, kill. They slew divers of them. But such as reached the top of the mountain, intreated they might be heard; which being granted they besought them to have pity upon them, and upon their wives and children; and call to mind, that they had inhabited in those countries, from the father to the son for some ages; and that in all that time there was not any that could complain of their conversation; and yet nevertheless, if they might not continue in their houses, in that belief wherein they had lived to this present; if they might be permitted to betake themselves, either by sea or by land, to the protection of God, with their persons and some few commodities; and so retire themselves whither it should please the Lord to conduct them, they should very willingly forsake all their goods, rather than to fall into any idolatry; promising both for themselves and all theirs, never to return to their houses again. They intreated them, even for God's sake, not to drive them to such necessities, as that they must be forced to defend themselves; for if they should be once out of all hope of mercy, it would be dangerous for them, who had driven them to these extremities. The Soldiers were the more stirred up against them, and presently made a violent assault upon them, which bound these poor people to a just defence; and so being assisted by God, they slew the greatest part of the soldiers that pursued them, and put the rest to flight. The monks, the Inquisitors, writ to the Viceroy of Naples, that he should

speedily

speedily send some soldiers, to apprehend certain heretics of Saint *Xist*, and *la Garde*, who were fled into the woods; and that in so doing, he would do what which was pleasing to the Pope, and meritorious to himself, delivering the Church from such contagion.

The Viceroy came himself with his troops. Being arrived at Saint *Xist*, he proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet; that the place was condemned to be exposed to fire and sword. But in the mean time before his arrival, the women had leisure to return to Saint *Xist*; whither they ran together, to seek for food to feed their husbands and children, which were in the wood. The viceroy caused it to be proclaimed throughout the realm of *Naples*, that all banished people that would come to the wars against the hereticks of Saint *Xist*, should be pardoned all their offences formerly committed; whereupon great numbers gathered themselves together, and were conducted to the woods, where the fugitives of Saint *Xist*, were; and they gave them chase in so rigorous a manner, that in the end, after the slaughter of divers of these poor people, the rest of them being sore wounded, retired themselves into the caves upon the high rocks, where the greatest part of them died with famine.

The Inquisitors made shew of much grief, and affected to be much displeased with that which had happened; and being retired to *Coffence*, where the *Sindic* of Saint

Saint *Xp* appeared before them ; they wished him speedily to withdraw himself, for fear lest the Viceroy should know of his being there, and so apprehend him. This lulled those of *la Garde* asleep ; who being cited by a public proclamation to appear before the said Inquisitors at *Coffence*, or before the Viceroy at *Folcade*, they were easily persuaded to believe the promises and fair speeches of the said Inquisitors. For being arrived at *Folcade*, there were seventy of them apprehended, and being bound, were brought to *Montaud* before the Inquisitor of *Pansa*, who put them all to the rack. Amongst others, he tormented one *Stephen Charlin* with such violence, that his bowels brake out of his belly, and all to extort from him, that they sometimes assembled themselves by night to commit lewdness, and damnable incests, the candles being put out. But notwithstanding his extreme torture, they could never get from him the confession of what was not true.

There was another called *Verminal*, who with the extreme pain he endured upon the rack, promised to go to mass; the Inquisitor thinking, that since the torment of the rack, had forced him to forsake his religion, that redoubling the violence thereof, he might draw from this feeble and tired sufferer, the confession of the former imposture. And so caused him to be tormented in such a manner, that many times he left him eight hours together upon the rack ; but yet could never get from his mouth so horrible a calumny.

Another

Another, named *Mascon*, being stript stark naked, was beaten with rods of iron; afterwards drawn through the streets, and burnt with fire-brands. One of his sons was killed with knives, the other was brought to a high tower, where there was offered unto him a crucifix, with promise that if he would kiss it he should be saved. He answered, that he would rather die, than commit idolatry, and though he was cast headlong from that tower, as he was threatned, yet he had rather his body should be broken to pieces here on earth, than by denying Christ and his truth, his soul be cast into hell.

The Inquisitor being much enraged with this answer, commanded him to be cast from the tower; to the end (saith he) we may see whether his God will protect him. *Bernard Cante* was condemned to be burnt alive, and as he was led to the fire, he cast to the earth a certain crucifix, which the executioner had fastened to his hands. The Inquisitor hereupon commanded him to be sent back to prison, to the end his pain might be aggravated, and to send him to *Coffence*, where he caused him to be covered with pitch, and so burnt.

Besides, this Inquisitor, *Panam*, cut the throats of four-score, as a butcher does his sheep; afterwards he caused them to be divided into four quarters, and commanded that the high ways from *Montaun* to *Chagless Nilar* should be set with stakes for the space of thirty miles,

miles, and caused a quarter to be fastened to every stake ; and in a place called *Moran*, he caused four of the principal men of *la Garde* to be hanged.

A certain young man named *Samson*, defended himself a long time against those, that would have apprehended him ; but in the end being wounded, he was taken and led to a high tower, where he was desired to confess himself to a Priest that was there present, before he should be cast from the tower, which he refused to do, saying, that he had confessed himself to God. So the Inquisitor commanded him to be cast over. The next day the Viceroy passed below from the tower, he found this poor man languishing, having his bones broken, and imploring the mercy of God, to whom he gave a kick on the head with his foot, saying, *Is this dog yet alive ? cast him to the dogs.*

Three-score women of Saint *Xist* were brought to the rack, and used with such violence, that the cords pierced into their arms and legs ; in such sort, that in their wounds, great quantity of worms bred, which fed upon them being alive, they not knowing how to remedy it, until some one or other having compassion on them, gave them secretly lime, which caused them to fall from them. They died, almost all, miserably in prison. Nine of the chief and handsomest among them were lost ; and it was never known what became of them, after they were delivered to the Fathers of the Inquisition.

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This wretched Inquisitor retired to Saint *Agatha*, where he delivered a great number to the secular power; and if any man offered to intercede for them, he caused him to be put to the rack, as a favourer of Heretics; in such sort, that in the end there was not any that durst open his mouth in their behalf.

Pope *Pius* the fourth, sent for their utter destruction, the Marquis of *Butians*, with promise that if he would do that good office to the holy See, and clear *Calabria* of those *Waldenses* that had there taken footing, he would give unto his son a Cardinal's hat. The Marquis had so great trouble in executing his commissions; for the Monks, the Inquisitors, and the Viceroy of *Naples* had almost put all to death that they could apprehend; having sent to the gallies in *Spain* the strongest of them, and condemned to perpetual banishment the fugitives, sold and killed the women and children.

As touching their Ministers, *Steen Negrin* was sent to prison at *Coffence*, where he died with famine: *Exodus Paschal* was carried to *Rome*, where he was condemned to be burnt alive. Pope *Pius* would needs feed his eyes with the last punishment of him who had maintained him to be Antichrist, being present at his death with many of his Cardinals. But the Pope could have wished himself elsewhere, or that *Paschal* had been mute, or the people deaf: for he spake many things against the Pope out of the word of God, which gave him a great deal of discontent. Thus did this good

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man die, calling upon God with such ardent zeal, that greatly moved the standers by, and made the Pope and his Cardinals to gnash their teeth for anger.

Thus have you seen the end of the *Waldenses* of *Calabria*, who were wholly exterminated; for if any of the fugitives be returned, it is upon condition that they live according to the laws of the Church of *Rome*.

C H A P. VIII.

The Persecutions of the Waldenses in Provence.

THE *Waldenses* inhabiting in *Provence*, have been held for the original offspring of the *Waldenses* inhabiting in *Dauphiny* and *Piedmont*, as appears by the families of the same name; as also there are amongst them, that can prove their descent from them. And though in the beginning, of their arrival in *Provence*, the country where they made their abode was a desert, yet they made it in few years fertile and fit, by the blessing of God, to yield corn, wine, oil of olives, chestnuts, and other fruits, that grew in great abundance.

The first persecutions which they suffered, are not come to our knowledge; notwithstanding we find in 1624, the commissions that have been given by the Pope and Anti-pope residing in *Avignon*, very near the

the place of their abode, against the *Waldenses* inhabiting in *Provence*; as that of the Arch-Bishop of *Cremona*, *Albert de Capitanis*, and of the Monk *Franc Borelli* having a commission against them, in the year 1380, to make inquiry of the *Waldenses* in the diocese of *Aix* in *Provence*, *Arles*, and *St. Land*. At the time when they retired into the said province in the year 1178, when the Archbishop of *Aix*, *Arles*, and of *Narbonne*, were assembled at *Avignon* to give advice to the Inquisitors touching the *Waldenses*, who then said, as you have heard before, that the Inquisitors had apprehended so great a number, that there was not only a want of food to feed them, but of lime and stone to build their prisons.

The first persecution, whereof we have the history, was in the time of *Lewis* the twelfth, about the year 1506, that is, this good king being informed, that there were in *Provence* a certain kind of people, that lived not according to the laws of the Church of *Rome*, but were an accursed people, committing all manner of wickedness and villainies, even such, as the very memory of them struck a horror into men's hearts; such as the Christians in the primitive Church had been upbraided with; he gave commission to his Court of Parliament, in *Provence*, to take knowledge thereof, and to chastise them according to their merit. When the King understood, that divers innocent persons were put to death, he limited the authority of the Court, and would not suffer them to continue their executions, until

until he were truly informed, what kind of people they were, who to him had been reported to be so wicked. To this purpose he sent *Adam Rumer*, Master of requests, who told him at his return, what he understood touching the *Waldenses* of *Provence*, was very untrue; for they were not tainted, either with sorcery or lewdness; but that they lived like honest men, doing hurt to no man; they caused their children to be baptized, taught them the Articles of their belief, and the Commandments of God; they carefully kept the Lord's day, and the Word of God was purely expounded unto them. A certain Jacobin Monk, named *Parui*, Confessor to the King, witnessed as much; who by the King was joined in commission with the said Master of Requests. Which the King having understood, he said, and bound it with an oath, that they were honest men, than himself, or the rest of his Catholic people. This persecution being stayed by King *Lewis* the twelfth, they continued in peace unto the reign of King *Francis* the first, at which time there was some talk in *France* of a reformation of religion; they sent two of their Pastors, that is to say, *George Morel* of *Brassieres* in *Dauphiny*, and *Peter Masson* of *Burgundy*, to *Occlampadius*, to *Capito*, and *Martin Bucer* at *Strasbourg*, and to *Berthand Haller* at *Berne*, to confer with them about matters touching their religion, and to have their advice and counsel about many points wherein they desired to be better satisfied.

They relate, that they had addressed themselves for

the same cause to their brethren of *Newcastle, Mure,* and *Berne*; which shews how careful the *Waldenses* were, to seek out all manner of means, that their understandings might be enlightened in the mysteries of piety for the salvation of their souls; especially seeing that they sought the means to advance and order their Church in the open view of the world, when the fires were kindled throughout all *France*, against those of the same religion that they were, who in those times were called *Lutherans*: the greater therefore their zeal was, the more they stirred up their enemies against them, and plunged themselves into the greater dangers. But as all are not victorious by faith, but there are always some weak who take counsel of the flesh, and persuade themselves without reason, that they can bow themselves in those places where God is offended by idolatry, and yet keep the heart pure and near unto God; *Oecolampadius* from thence took occasion to write to those dissemblers, who walked not in uprightness before God, the following letter.

“ We understand, that the fear of persecution hath made you dissemble in your faith, and that you hide it. Now we believe with the heart to righteousness, and confess with the mouth to salvation; but they that fear to confess Christ before the world, shall not be received by God the Father. For our God is truth, without any dissimulation; and as he is a jealous God, he cannot endure that they that are his, should join together under the yoke of Antichrist; for there is no com-
munion

communion of Christ with Belial. And if you communicate with the infidels, in going to their abominable masses, you cannot but perceive their blasphemies against the death and passion of Christ. For when they glory in themselves, that by the means of such sacrifice, they satisfy God for the sins of the living and the dead; what can follow? but that Jesus Christ hath not sufficiently satisfied, by the sacrifice of his death and passion; and consequently that Christ is not Jesus, that is, a Saviour, and that he died for you in vain. If then we have communion at this impure table, we declare ourselves to be one body with the wicked, how irksome soever it be unto us. And when we say, amen to their prayers, do we not deny Christ? What death should we not rather chuse? What pain and torment should we not rather suffer? nay, into what hell ought we not rather to plunge ourselves, than to witness by our presence, that we consent unto the blasphemies of the wicked?"

"I know that your weakness is great, but it is necessary, that they that have learned that they are bought by the blood of Christ, should be more courageous, and always fear him, that can cast both soul and body into hell. And what shall it suffice us, to have a care of this life only? shall that be more precious unto us, than the death of Christ? And are we contented to have tasted the delights of this world only? Crowns are prepared for us, and shall we turn back again? and who

will believe, that our faith hath been true, if it fail and faint in the heat of persecution? Let us therefore pray unto God to increase our faith. For certainly it shall be better for us to die, than to be overcome by temptations. And therefore, brethren, we exhort you to dive into the bottom of this business. For if it be lawful to hide our faith under Antichrist, it shall be likewise lawful to hide it under the empire of the Turk; and with *Dioclesian* to adore *Jupiter* and *Venus*; nay it had been lawful for *Tobit* to adore the calf in *Beelshazur*. And what then shall our faith towards God be? If we honour not God as we should, and if our life be nothing but hypocrisy and dissimulation, he will spew us out of his mouth, as being neither hot nor cold. And how do we glorify our Lord in the midst of our tribulations, if we deny him? Brethren, it is not lawful for us to look back when our hand is at the plough; neither is lawful to give ear to our wives enticing us to evil, that is to say, to our flesh, which notwithstanding it endure many things in this world, yet in the haven it suffereth shipwreck."

These godly admonitions prevailed much for the confirmation of the more weak; and they came in very good time for those who presently after were sifted with many tempestuous outrages, and even one of those that brought the letters made good use of them, that is to say, *Peter Masson*, who was apprehended at *Dijon*, where he was condemned to death for a *Lutheran*.
George

George Motel saved himself with his letters and papers, and came sound and safe into *Provence*, where he bestowed much pains, and with happy success; in the establishing of the Churches of the *Waldenses*, of which the Court of Parliament at *Ain* did every day apprehend one faithful member or other, whom they either condemned to the fire, or sent to the gibbet, or dismissed with marks in their foreheads; until the year 1540, the inhabitants of *Merindol* were summoned, in the persons of five or six of the principals, at the earnest importunity of the King's Attorney in the Parliament of *Ain*, and other ecclesiastical persons. A sentence was given against them, the most exorbitant, cruel, and inhuman that ever was in any Parliament, like in all things, to that edict of King *Ahasuerus*, granted at the instance of *Haman*, against the people of God. *Ester* iii. For besides that, the men and women who were summoned for contumacy, were condemned to be burnt alive, by the said sentence, their children and families outlawed; it was decreed that the place of *Merindol*, should be altogether made uninhabitable; the woods cut down, two hundred paces round about it, and all this without permission to speak a word.

The King being informed of the rigour of this edict, sent into *Provence* the Lord du *Langeai* to know the manner and belief of the said *Waldenses*; and understanding that many things were laid to the charge of this people, which they were not guilty of, the King

King sent letters of grace and favour, not only in behalf of those that offended by contumacy, but all the rest of the country of *Pronce*, expressly commanding the Parliament from thence forward, not in that case to proceed so rigorously, as they had done in times past. These letters were suppressed. They that were personally summoned made request, that it might be lawful for them to answer by a Proctor.

Francis Chai, and *William Armand* appeared for all the rest, requesting that it might be made to appear unto them in what they had erred, and that, by the word of God; being ready to abjure all heresy, if once they might know that they were fallen into any. And for this cause they delivered to them in writing, a confession of their faith, to the end if they found any thing worthy of representation by the holy scriptures, they might be instructed concerning that which they were to recant; or if they found nothing that they could apprehend, that they might be no more molested by so many and so grievous persecutions; for fear-lest thinking they made war only against men, it should appear that they made it against God and his truth, and those that maintained it.

All their petitions served to no other end, than to provoke them the more; for the judges being possessed with an opinion, that they were Hereticks, refusing to take the pains to examine the truth, they made all their acts in favour of the Priests that accused them in

in such sort, that the Cardinal of *Tournon* obtained at a high price, letters from the King for the execution of the aforesaid decree, notwithstanding the pardon and revocation before obtained, it was executed.

In the year 1545, the President *Opede*, Governor of *Provence* in the absence of *Grignan*, dispatched fundry commissions, and proclaimed the war with sound of trumpet, both at *Aix*, and at *Marseilles*. So the troops being levied, and the five ensigns of the old bands of *Piedmont* joined with them, the army marched to *Perpignan*; and the next day being the fourteenth of April, they went to *Cadinet*, and the sixteenth, they began to set fire to the villages of *Cabriers*, *Pepin*, *la Maye*, and *St. Martin*, belonging to the Lord of *Sental*; then under age. There the poor labourers without any resistance were slain, women and their daughters ravished; some great with child; murdered, without any mercy; the breasts of many women were cut off; after whose deaths the poor infants died with famine; *Opede* having caused proclamation to be made upon pain of the withe, that no man should give any relief or sustenance to any of them.

All things were ransacked, burned, pillaged; and there were none saved alive, but those that were reserved for the galleys. The seventeenth day, *Opede* commanded the old bands of *Piedmont* to draw near, and the day following he burnt the villages of *Liv-*
marin,

*marin, Vallé Loure, and Tremouille; and at the same time on the other side of Duranco, le Rieur de la Roque; and others of the town of Arles, burnt Gargas and la Roque. Opède being come to Merindol, he found not any there, but only a young lad called *Morisc Blanc*, who yielded himself prisoner to a soldier, with promise of two crowns for his ransom; *Opède* finding none other upon whom he could wreak his vengeance, payed the two crowns to the soldier, and so commanding him to be bound to a tree, caused him to be shot. Afterwards, he commanded the said town to be pillaged, ransacked, and utterly razed and laid level with the ground, where there were above two hundred houses.*

There remained the town of *Cabrières* compassed with walls, which were beaten with the cannon; the poor people being sick within, who were about some three score peasants of the country, called unto them, that they needed not to spend so much powder and pains to batter the walls; because they were ready to open the gates unto them, and to quit themselves of the place and country, and to depart to Geneva, or into Germany with their wives and children, leaving all their goods behind them, only that their passage might be free.

The Lord of *Cabrières* treated for them, that their cause might be determined by justice, without force or violence; but *Opède* being within the town, he commanded

ordered the men to be brought into a field, and to be cut in pieces with swords; these valiant executioners striving who could shew the best courage in cutting off heads, arms, and legs. He caused the women to be locked up in a barn full of straw, and to put fire unto it, where were burnt many women great with child. Wherewith a soldier being moved to compassion, having made an overture for them, they were beaten back into the fire with pikes and halberds. The rest of those men, who were found hid in the caves, were brought into the hall of the castle, where they were horribly massacred in the presence of the said *Opede*. As for the women and children who were found in the temple, they were exposed to the chief bawds and ruffians of *Avignon*, who slew about eight hundred persons, without distinction of age or sex.

About the end of this execution, *le Sieur de la Caille*, kinsman to *Opede*, came thither, who intreated him to send him some men of war, offering to bring all his soldiers into *Aix*, and to make as many breaches in the wall as he would; which was granted by word of mouth, but not wholly performed. For three companies of foot were sent thither, who pillaged whatsoever seemed good unto them; burnt a part of the town, ravished women and their daughters, and killed some peasants, not finding any resistance. In the mean time, the rest of those of *Merindol* and other places, were in great extremities in the mountains and rocks, persecuted by *Opede* and his army. They intreated him that he would
 permit

permit them to retire themselves towards *Garons*, with the rest of their wives and children, promising to leave behind them all their goods. He answered that he would send them all to dwell in the country of hell, them, their wives and children, in such a manner, that there should be no memory left of them.

The King being advertised of the cruelties which were executed in pursuit of the said arrest, was much displeased therewith, in such sort that, at the very point of death, being wounded with some remorse of conscience, principally because it had all passed under his name and authority; being sorry because he could inflict no punishment upon them before his death, that had shed so much innocent blood, he gave in charge to his son *Henry* to be revenged on them; in the prosecution whereof, after the decease of his father, he sent out his letters patent, in the year 1549, by which he took unto himself and into his own hands, the cause of the said *Waldenses of Provence*: but there was none but the advocate *Guesin* that was hanged; because he had falsely informed the King, when he kept back the revocation of the first retention of the cause of *Merindol*, whereupon presently followed the execution of the arrest of the Court of Parliament of *Ain*. And all the rest that were faulty, escaped upon this consideration, that it was to no purpose to attempt any more against the *Lutherans* at that time.

Touching the rest that escaped this massacre, some there

there were that retired themselves to *Geneva*, others into *Switzerland*, others into *Germany*, and others continued near at hand, tilling their land by stealth; and so by little and little, returned home to their old habitations, which they built and repaired at such times as they could, by the benefit of the aforesaid edicts; and were afterwards the seed of many goodly churches, which at this year, 1624, are gathered together, flourishing in all piety and zeal, as other churches in the kingdom of *France*.

We find as early as 1210, numbers in *Paris* who were burnt to death; and in 1304, strict search was made for the *Waldenses*, and great numbers suffered in the flames with admirable constancy. Also in 1378, the persecution raged against them in *Paris*, and multitudes suffered; so that several writers affirm, that above a million were destroyed in *France* only.

CHAPTER IX.

The Persecutions of the Waldenses that fled into Bohemia.

DIVERS have written, that *Waldo* at his departure from *Lions*, came into *Languedoc*, and there he left excellent pastors, who ordered and instructed those churches, which afterwards cost the Pope and his clergy so much to destroy; and from thence he went into *Picardy*, from whence being chased, he took his jour-

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ney into *Germany*, and from *Germany* he retired himself into *Bobemia*, where, according to the opinion of some, he ended his days. The *Waldenses* inhabiting in *Dauphiny*, *Piedmont*, and *Provence*, have had communion and intelligence with their brethren in *Bobemia*, for proof whereof, we have the evidence of *Daniel de Valence*, and *John de Molin*, Pastors in *Bobemia*, who did much hurt to the churches of that country, by revealing unto the adversaries those flocks or companies, which before were hidden and unknown, because of the great and grievous persecutions that then were.

There is also a certain apology of the *Waldenses* of *Bobemia* in the *Waldensian* tongue, in the form of a letter, which they writ to *Ladislaut*, King of *Bobemia*.

This letter makes proof of the communion which the *Waldenses* have had with those of *Bobemia*, in that they have had in their language this letter, which contains a just apology against those slanders, and other faults which in former times have been imputed to the one and to the other; and have been common with the christians of the primitive church. There is also in the same volume a treatise, the inscription whereof is this, *The cause of our separation from the Church of Rome*: Causes which have been common with all those that have withdrawn themselves from that church, for fear of participating of her plagues.

The author of the catalogue of witnesses of the truth,

truth, makes mention of a certain form of inquisition, which was practised against the *Waldenses* of *Bohemia* under King *John*, which was about the year 1330. As also in another inquisition this is noted, that the *Waldenses* of *Bohemia* sent into *Lombardy* to the *Waldensian* Doctors, those whom they would have trained up in the profession of divinity.

In the treatise of the beginning of the Churches of *Bohemia*, at what time the doctrine of *John Huss* was there received, the Pastors, Elders, and faithful of *Bohemia* say, that the *Waldensian* Churches of *Bohemia*, had been oppressed by the tyranny of the Pope; in such a manner that they had no more assemblies, and that there were no more of their writings to be found in *Bohemia*.

Rudiger, in his treatise of the Churches of *Bohemia*, saith, that the *Waldenses* have had their Churches, at least two hundred and fifty years before the *Hussites*, and though he confesses that their belief was one and the same; yet he affirmeth, that there was not in their time any memory of their Churches, but only of those that were in *France* at *Merindol*, and the places near adjoining. And that when they sent to *Bohemia* to join themselves unto them in the confession of their faith, they enquired of them, whether they made any public profession of the truth: and when they had understood, that there were some amongst them, that sometimes frequented popish churches,

and were present at those idolatries that were there committed, they did bitterly reprehend them for it.

And even there they give this testimony of the *Waldenses*; that there is in them much light and knowledge, and that they have well understood and purely taught many things, yea, and that they have suffered much for the truth, especially in *France*; and so they desired to be distinguished from them, to the end that if it were observed, that the *Waldenses* had done much for the establishment of the truth in their times, that it might likewise be known, that the *Hussites* have not done little in their time.

Sylvius reporteth of one *James de Mifac*, and *Peter de Dreze*, disciples of the *Waldenses*, that they went into *Bohemia* in the time of *John Huss*, and that having conferred with him, he made profession of their doctrine, and they themselves deny it not: for they say that *Wickliffe* was assisted to shake off the yoke of the Pope, by the example of the *Waldenses*, and that *Wickliffe* was the instrument which God had used for the instruction of *John Huss*, who taught in *Bohemia*; and that therefore they have thought themselves much bound to the churches of the *Waldenses*, because whatsoever good there had been in the said churches, they say was transported into theirs; and so have they been in some sort, the beginning thereof.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The persecution of the Waldenses in Austria.

THE number of the *Waldenses* that inhabited in *Austria* was very great, who were there grievously persecuted, as may appear if we had no other proof than the chronicle *Hirsauge*; where it is observed that about the year 1400, there were burnt a great number in the city of *Crems*, which is in the Dukedom of *Austria*. But that which troubled the heads of the persecutors a great deal more, was the speech of one of them, who being executed at *Vienna*, said at his execution, that there were in that country, of the same belief that he professed, above fourscore thousand.

About the year of our Lord 1467, the *Hussites* reforming their churches, and separating them from the church of *Rome*, they understood, that there were in *Austria*, churches of the *Waldenses*, upon the frontiers of *Bohemia*, in which there were great and learned men appointed for Pastors, and that the doctrine of the gospel flourished among them. That they might know the truth thereof, they deputed two of their brethren, amongst their Pastors, and two Elders, with charge to enquire what those flocks or congregations were; for what cause they had forsaken the church of *Rome*, their principles and progression; that they should make

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known unto them their carriage or demeanor in *Bohemia*, and give a reason why they were separated from the Romish church.

These men being come thither, and having carefully enquired into the state of those Churches of the *Waldenses*, and having found them, that they did nothing but what was ordained by our Lord Jesus-Christ, and taught by his Apostles; holding themselves wholly to the institution of the Son of God in the matter of Sacraments.

It contented the *Waldenses* very much, to understand that there were in *Bohemia* a number of people, that had given glory to God, and removed from them the abuse and idolatries of the Church of *Rome*, exhorting them in the name of God to continue in that which they had so well begun, for the knowledge and support of the truth, and for the establishment of a good discipline; and in witness of the great joy that they received, and that holy society and communion that they desired to have with them, they blessed them in praying for them, and laying their hands upon them.

Afterwards the said *Waldenses* related unto them, how God had miraculously preserved them, for these many hundred years, notwithstanding divers great and continual persecutions which they had endured; and so they affectionately took their leave of their brethren,

ren, and at their return related whatsoever they had seen or done in their voyage, from whence they received unspeakable satisfaction; and from that time forward, they continued a holy affection and desire to communicate together as oft as they could, for their common edification. In prosecution whereof, the brethren of *Bohemia* sent letters to the *Waldenses* of *Austria*, giving them to understand, that they had received great comfort by the last communication they had with them; but yet as they desired not to be flattered in any defect or fault whatsoever, so they could not dissemble without some defect of charity, what they had found in them worthy reprehension; and that was, that they yielded too much to their infirmities, since that having once known the truth, they nevertheless frequented Popish churches; being present at those idolatries, which they condemned, basely prophaning and polluting themselves, that they were not only to believe with the heart, but we must likewise make confession with our mouth to salvation.

Moreover they told them of another fault, which they had taken notice of, and that was, that they were too careful in heaping up gold and silver; for though the design were good, that is, to help and comfort them in time of persecution; yet forasmuch as every day brought with it affliction enough, and that such cares as are not befitting those that are to look only before them, and to lay up a treasure in heaven, they condemned that

that which was superabundant in them, and which in the end they would principally rely upon.

The *Waldenses* of *Austria* did heartily thank them, in treating them to continue this holy affection towards them, and for their part to do their best to further their communion, and to appoint a day and place of meeting and conference; for they having a long time known the defects, which they had taken notice of, but as yet they had not power to provide convenient remedies for the same; but their hope was, that being altogether, they should be able to resolve with themselves, as also touching many other points of greatest moment. Now when it was even upon the point to send to the place where they had agreed to meet and assemble themselves, they began to doubt that the business might be discovered, and it might be dangerous to all of them. And besides that, they considered with themselves that they had been supported, notwithstanding their assemblies and belief were sufficiently known; and therefore they should put themselves into extreme danger, if they should join themselves with other people. These considerations made their former designs and purposes of their mutual communications to vanish away; as also in the year following, that is, in the year 1468, the persecution increased against the *Waldenses* of *Austria*, for there were burnt a great number at *Vienna*. Among others, the history makes mention of one *Steven*, an ancient man, who being there burnt, confirmed many with his constancy. They that would escape this

this persecution, retired themselves into the coast of *Brandenburgh*, where they stayed not long, being also there exposed to fire and sword. Amongst those, there was one named *Tertor*, that retired himself into *Bohemia*, where he joined himself to the churches of the *Hussites*, and finding that a man might there remain in peace of body and soul, he returned into his country, and persuaded many to go to *Bohemia*, and to inhabit there, who were lovingly received; and since that time there have been no assemblies of the *Waldenses* in particular, but they have joined themselves unto the churches of the *Hussites*.

C H A P. XI.

The persecution of the Waldenses in Germany.

NOTWITHSTANDING that after *Peter Waldo* with those that followed him, came into *Germany*, there was so great a persecution along the *Rhine*, by the incitement and instigation of the Archbishops of *Mayence* and *Straßburg*, that there were burnt in one day, and in one fire, to the number of eighteen, yet we find that in the time of the Emperor *Frederick* the second, about the year 1213, *Germany*, and especially *Alsacia*, was full of the *Waldenses*. The searchers were so diligent and exact, that they were forced to disperse themselves into other places to avoid the persecution.

cution. This flight was to the great benefit of the church, because hereby many learned teachers were scattered here and there, to make known unto the world the purity of their religion.

In the year 1230, a certain Inquisitor named *Conrad*, was ordained by the Pope, Superintendant of the Inquisition. He exercised this charge with extreme cruelty, against all sorts of persons, without respect even of the Priests themselves, whose bodies and goods he confiscated. He tried men with a hot iron, saying, that they that could hold an iron red hot in their hands and not be burnt, were good Christians; but on the contrary, if they felt the fire, he delivered them to the secular power. Dreadful days indeed! In these times the *Waldenses* had in the diocese of *Troves* many schools, wherein they caused their children to be instructed in their belief; and notwithstanding all the inquisitions and persecutions executed upon their flocks, yet they ventured to preach, calling their assemblies by the sound of a bell; maintaining publicly that the Pope was an Heretick, and his Prelates seducers of the people. That the truth was not preached but amongst them; and if they had not come amongst them to teach, God would have raised others, even the stones themselves, to enlighten his church by the preaching of the word. Until these times, say they, the preachers have buried the truth, and preached lies: we on the contrary preach the truth, and bury falsehoods and lies; and lastly we offer not a feigned remission, invented.

ented by the Pope, but by God alone, and according to our vocation.

Matthew Paris, an English writer observes, that about the year 1220, there were a great number in a part of *Germany*, that took arms, where the *Waldenses* were cut in pieces; being surpris'd in a place of great disadvantage, having on the one side marshy ground, and on the other the sea, in such sort that it was impossible for them to escape. It does not appear that our Lord will maintain his cause by carnal weapons.

About the year 1330, they were strangely vexed in many parts of *Germany*, by a certain Inquisitor, named *Erhard*: but after many cruelties executed upon them, as he pressed the *Waldenses* to discover to him the reasons for which they separated from the church of *Rome*, and being vanquished in his own conscience, acknowledging those defects and corruptions which they alledged to be in the church of *Rome* to be true; and not being able to disprove the points of their belief by the word of God, he gave glory unto God, and confessing that the truth had overcome him; he became a member of that church which he had a long time before persecuted to death. The other Inquisitors being advertised of this alteration, were so displeased, that they sent presently so many after them, that in the end he was apprehended, and brought to *Heidelberg*, where he was burnt; maintaining that it was injustice and wrong to condemn so many good men to death for
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the righteousness of Christ, against the inventions of Antichrist.

In the year 1391, the Inquisitors took in *Saxony* and *Pomerania* four hundred and forty-three *Waldenses*, who all confessed, that they had been instructed in that belief for a long time by their ancestors, and that their teachers came from *Bohemia*.

In the year 1457, the Monks, Inquisitors of the diocese of *Eisten* in *Germany* discovered many *Waldenses*, which they put to death. They had amongst them twelve Pastors that instructed them.

We must not pass by the thirty-five burgeses of *Mayence*, that were burned in the town of *Bingue*, because they were known to be of the belief of the *Waldenses*; nor the four score which the Bishop of *Straßburgh* caused to be burnt in one fire; nor that which *Trithemius* recounts, that they confessed in those times, that the number of *Waldenses* was so great, that they could go from *Cologne* to *Milan*, and lodge themselves with hosts of their own profession; and that they had signs upon their houses and gates, whereby they might know them.

But the most excellent instrument amongst them, whom God employed in his service, was one *Raynard Lollard*, who at the first was a *Franciscan Monk*, and an enemy of the *Waldenses*, but yet a man who sincerely desired

desired to find the way of salvation, wherein he had so profitted, that his adversaries themselves were constrained to commend him. For *John le Maire* puts him in the rank of those holy men, that have foretold by divine revelation, many things that have come to pass in his time. This worthy man taught the doctrine of the *Waldenses*, and was apprehended in *Germany* by the Inquisitors, and being delivered to the secular power, was burnt at *Cologne*.

This man wrote a commentary upon the Revelation, where he hath set down many things that are spoken of the Roman Antichrist. This was he from whom the faithful in *England* were called in derision, *Lollards*, and the tower in *London*, in which he taught, is still called by his name *Lollard's tower*, where the faithful that professed his religion were imprisoned.

We find as early as 1320, many *Waldenses* in *Poland*. But their avowed enemies, the Bishops and Inquisitors, hunted them out of every recess, and delivered them into the hands of the executioner. Also in *Luthuania*, these morning stars shone; but met with the same treatment which they had done elsewhere; that is, every species of cruelty which ignorant bigotry and blind rage could inflict: and yet, in spite of all opposition God did maintain his own cause; so that the heaven did ferment, and will continue so to do till it will leaven the whole; till all shall bow to the scepter of the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.

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In *Flanders* also we find the *Waldenses* were early persecuted; great numbers were burnt; and many retired into the woods, among the wolves, to avoid the more cruel wolves in sheeps cloathing, namely, the Priests and their agents; on which account these poor distressed sufferers were called *Turlupins*, that is, such as dwell with wolves. It is said one *Robert Baugre*, who professed himself a *Waldensian* turned an Apostate, became a monk, and a violent persecutor, and caused many to be burnt in *Flanders*, laying many false things to their charge. But he met with his reward; for being convicted of divers crimes, he was deprived of his office of Inquisitor, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

CHAP. XII.

The persecution of the Waldenses in England.

ENGLAND hath been one of the first places that hath been honoured for receiving the gospel; for not long after that *Waldo* departed from *Lions*, there were many condemned to death as *Waldenses*, that is to say, eleven years after the dispersion of the *Waldenses* from the city of *Lions*. For *Waldo* departed out of *Lions* in the year 1163, and *Matthew Paris* reports, that the Inquisitors caused some of the *Waldenses* to be burnt in *England*, in the year 1174. And *John Bale* makes mention of a certain man that was burnt at *London*.

don, in the year 1210, who was charged with no other crime, than that he professed the religion of the *Waldenses*. *Thomas Walden*, an *English* man, hath written, that in the time of *Henry* the second, the *Waldenses* were grievously persecuted, and that they were called, *Publicans*. And as for those in whom they found not cause enough to condemn unto death, they marked them in the forehead with a burning key, to the end they might be known of every man. This belief of the *Waldenses* was better known in the time of the wars against the *Albigenses*, inſomuch that the proximity of the lands and poſſeſſions of the Earl *Reymond*, of *Thoulouſe*, with *Guienne*, then poſſeſſed by the *English*, and the alliance of the King of *England*, brother in law of the ſaid *Reymond*, made the way more eaſy to the *English*, not only to ſuccour one another in the wars, but alſo to take knowledge of the belief of the ſaid *Albigenses*, which was no other but that of the *Waldenses*. See the hiſtory of the *Albigenses*. Fryer *Rainard Lollard*, was then the moſt powerful inſtrument, which God uſed by exhortations, and ſound reaſons, to give knowledge to the *English* of the doctrine, for which the *Waldenses* were delivered to death. This doctrine was received by *Wickliffe*, who thereby obtained much help for the increaſe of his knowledge in the truth. He was a renowned Theologian in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and Rector of the pariſh of *Lutterworth*, in the dioceſe of *Lincoln*; an eloquent man, and a profound ſcholar. He won the hearts of many *English*, even of the moſt honourable of the land, as the Duke of *Lancaſter*.

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uncle to King *Richard II.* *Henry Percy, Lewes Gifford,* and the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Salisbury*. By the favour of these great personages, the doctrine of the *Waldenses*, or of *Wickliffe* took footing, and had free passage in *England*, until *Gregory* the eleventh persecuted those that received it, by means of his Monks, the Inquisitors; the fires being kindled in *England* for many years, to stay the course thereof: but it was all in vain, for it hath been maintained there in spite of Antichrist, until his yoke was wholly shaken off. True it is, that the bones of *Wickliffe* were dug up above thirty years after his death, and condemned to be burnt, with such books as his adversaries could recover; but he had before enlightened so great a number, that it was beyond the power of his enemies altogether to deprive the church of them. For the more they endeavoured to hinder the reading and knowledge of them by horrible threats, and death itself; the more were the affections of many sharpened to read them with greater ardeney. It is likewise said; that a certain scholar having carried into *Bohemia* one of the books of the said *Wickliffe*, intituled his *Universals*, and delivering it to *John Hufs*; he gathered that knowledge from it, that made him admirable in *Bohemia*, and edified all those, who together with him, did very willingly free themselves from the servile yoke of the church of *Rome*. From hence it was said to the *Hussites*, that *Wickliffe* had awakened their *John Hufs*. This *Wickliffe* it is said writ above a hundred volumes against Antichrist or the church of *Rome*.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

The persecutions of the Waldenses inhabiting in Italy

IN the year 1229 the *Waldenses* were spread abroad in great numbers throughout *Italy*. They had churches in *Albania*, *Lombardy*, *Milan*, and in *Romagna*; as also at *Vincence*, *Florence*, and *Val Spoletine*. In the year of our Lord 1280 there were many *Waldenses* in *Sicily*.

In the year 1492, *Albert de Capitaneis*, Inquisitor and Arch-deacon of *Cremona*, apprehended one of the Pastors of the *Waldenses*, named *Peter de Jacob*, passing over a mountain in *Dauphiny*, as he was going to *Pragela* in the valley of *Fraissnieres*. Being asked from whence he came, he answered, that he came from the Churches of the *Waldenses* in *Italy*, to perform his duty to his charge; and that he had passed by *Gennes*, where he told them that the *Waldensian* Pastors had a house of their own, which agreeth with that which *Vignaux* noteth in his memorials. The persecutions that they have suffered in *Italy* were continued, until they were wholly rooted out. The Emperor, *Frederic* the second, did grievously persecute them, by edicts and by the Inquisition. It was his pleasure that they should be severely and speedily punished, for fear lest they should spread themselves farther, seeing also that they had begun to inhabit *Lombardy*, and *Sicily*,
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where he commanded they should be persecuted with all rigour, to the end they might be driven out from thence, and out of the whole world together.

Roger king of Sicily, made also constitutions against them, and caused them to be persecuted.

Pope *Gregory*, the ninth, did grievously persecute them. A legate of his, banished them out of all *Italy*, and commanded that their houses should be razed. He appointed in the City of *Milan* two preachers, who by the authority of the Archbishop, made a strict enquiry of the *Waldenses*, and where they could apprehend any, they caused them to be brought by the Pretor, to the place where the Arch-bishop had appointed, and that at the public charge.

Pope *Honorius* caused them to be grievously persecuted under the name of *Fraticelli*, that is to say, shifting companions: for it appears, that as many as were so called in *Italy*, were no other but *Waldenses*. In the time of *Boniface* the eight, they were charged with the same calumnies, as the *Waldenses* of *Dauphiny*, and the Christians of the primitive Church: namely, putting out the lights, and committing all kinds of uncleanness. The Inquisitors have always made in *Italy* an exact search, that they might deliver them to the secular power; and not content to condemn the living, they framed indictments against the dead, dis-interred their bodies, burnt their bones, and confiscated their goods.

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One amongst the rest, named *Herman*, being buried at *Ferrara*, was condemned twenty years after his death to be dis-interred, and his bones to be burnt, notwithstanding that whilst he lived, he was accounted a holy man. Also there was another named *Andrew*, and his wife *Guillaume*, that were dis-interred, and their bones burnt. This shameful violation was offered to the dead in *England*, in the reign of Queen *Mary*; and even in the memorable reign of *Charles* the second, to the disgrace of Protestants.

The persecuting of these followers of the Lamb in our country, drove them into many others, and by that means the gospel spread into various countries; so that we find in 1250 they had Churches in *Livonia*, *Sarmatia*, *Constantinople*, *Sclavonia*, *Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and westward even into *Spain*. But as my plan will not admit of enlarging upon the history of them in those countries, and as their doctrines and discipline were the same as in those places already mentioned, it would be like repeating the same over again. Their adversaries were of the same fraternity, Bishops, Priests, Monks, and Inquisitors; so the treatment they met was pretty much the same as in other places. The Inquisitors generally followed them, and as burning them publicly brought reproach upon their adversaries, they took the more crafty, though no less cruel, method of murdering them privately. Many writers have given an account of the Inquisition, and the various engines of torment there made use of.

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However, let us bless God for helping his suffering servants to stand in the fiery trial. And let us not be slothful; but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

Out of great distress they came,
Wash'd their robes by faith below,
In the blood of yonder Lamb,
Blood that washes white as snow.

More than conqu'rors at last,
Here they find their trials o'er;
They have all their sufferings past,
Hunger now and thirst no more.

The end of the History of the Waldenses.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ALBIGENSES.

CHAP. I.

Who the Albigenſes were, what were their doctrines, who were comprehended under that name.



THE *Albigenſes*, differ nothing at all from the *Waldenſes* in their doctrine: but are ſo called from the Country of *Albi*, where they dwelt, and had their firſt beginning. The Popes have condemned them as *Waldenſes*; the Legates have made war againſt them as *Waldenſes*; the Inquiſitors and people have perſecuted them as being ſuch; and they have thought themſelves honoured

noured by that title, upon the assured knowledge that they had of the purity of their doctrine being the same with the *Waldenses*.

They received the doctrine of the *Waldenses*, a little after the departure of *Waldo* from *Lions*; the instruments that were employed in this work, were *Peter Bruis*, *Henry*, *Joseph*, *Esperon*, and *Arnold Hott*; very likely brothers: *Henry* and *Arnold* travelled in the country of *Albi*, and that with such success, that in a short time there were found but few, and in some places not any; that would go any more to Mass; affirming, that the sacrifice of the Mass was only invented to enrich the Priests, and to make them to be more esteemed in the world; as making the body of Christ by their words, and sacrificing him to God the Father for the sins of the living and of the dead; which was an impiety, destroying the sacrifice of the Son of God, and annihilating the merit of his death and passion. There were many who gave ear to their reasons in the diocese of *Rhodes*, *Cahors*, *Agen*, *Tbolouse* and *Narbonne*; because the Doctors that taught amongst the *Waldenses*, were learned men, conversant in reading of the holy Scriptures; whereas on the other side, the Priests, who studied nothing more than the sacrifices of the Mass, and how to receive their oblations for the dead, were altogether ignorant, and therefore contemned of the people.

Pope *Alexander* the third, being much moved, because

cause he saw many great provinces shake off the yoke of the Romish Church, -condemned them for Hereticks in the Council of *Latran*.

Nevertheless, they were in such a manner multiplied, that in the year 1200, they possessed many large cities.

And which is more, many great Lords took part with them, namely, the Earl *Reymond*, of *Tboulouse*, *Reymond*, Earl of *Foix*, the Viscount of *Beziers*, *Gaston* Lord of *Bearne*, the Earl of *Carmain*, the Earl of *Bigorre*, the Lady of *Lavaur*, and divers others. And besides all these, the Kings of *Arragon* and *England*, have many times defended their cause, by reason of that alliance that they had with the Earl *Reymond*, of *Tboulouse*.

It may be necessary to observe, that the Earls, Lords and Viscounts, were at that time, Princes of their different territories, much like the *German* Princes at present.

The doctrines of the *Albigenses* were for the most part the same with the *Waldenses*, and they also protested against the Church of *Rome*, as corrupt and idolatrous ; against praying to the dead and for the dead ; against the mass, purgatory and transubstantiation. For which the Pope and his Emissaries summoned

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moned all the Princes in Europe to raise forces and destroy them from off the face of the earth.

Pope *Innocent* the third, seemed desirous to reduce the *Albigenses* unto the Church of *Rome*, by preaching and reason, or to oppress them and utterly root them out by violence of arms, and by the cruelty of punishments.

But before he would come to extremities, he thought it necessary, for the better justification of his proceedings, to begin with words, and afterwards to come to blows. He sent therefore amongst them certain Preachers, who endeavoured to draw them by gentle persuasions.

When the *Albigenses* knew the Pope pretended, that he was not the cause why they did not return to the Church of *Rome* by gentle means, and force of reason, they began to think that it stood them upon to maintain their belief by a conference; otherwise they would give occasion to the adversaries to think, that there was in their religion some weakness, if there were not any Pastor that would take upon him the defence thereof. It was therefore concluded amongst the *Albigenses*, to give the Bishops to understand, that their Pastors were ready to maintain their belief by the word of God, provided that the conferences were well ordered and moderated; that is to say, that there may be moderators, men of authority, on both sides, who may have

have power to hinder all tumult and sedition. Provided also, that it be in a place, to which there may be free access, and secured for all persons that may assist at the said conference. Moreover, that there be some subject chosen by common consent, not to be given over before it be determined; and he that cannot defend it by the word of God, shall yield to the force of truth.

The Bishops and Monks, did all allow of the conditions. The place was *Montreal*, near *Carcassonne*, the time, in the year 1206. The Arbitrators agreed upon were *Villencus*, and *Auxerre*, for the Bishops; and for the *Albigenses* *R. de Bort*, and *Anthony Riviera*.

Arnald Hott, the Pastor of the *Albigenses*, accompanied those that were accounted fit for such an action; He was the first who arrived at the place and day assigned; afterwards came the Bishop *Eufus*, and the Monk *Dominio*, a *Spaniard*, with two of the Pope's Legates, and divers other Priests and Monks.

The general questions proposed by *Arnold*, were these: That the *Masa*, with *Transubstantiation*, was the invention of men, not the ordinance of Christ, nor his Apostles.

That the *Romish Church* is not the Spouse of Christ, but the Church of tumult and molestation, made drunken with the blood of Martyrs.

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That the policy of the Church of *Rome*, is neither good nor holy, nor established by Jesus Christ.

Arnold sent these propositions to the Bishop, who demanded fifteen days to answer which was granted him. At the day appointed, the Bishop failed not to appear with a long and large writing. *Arnold Hott* desired to be heard by word of mouth, saying, that he would answer to all that was contained in the said writing; intreating his audience to have patience, if he were long in answering to so long a discourse. It was granted that he should be heard with attention and patience, and without interruption. He discoursed for several hours, for four days together, and with such readiness for his part, that all the Bishops, Abbots, Monks, and Priests had reason to desire they had been elsewhere. For he framed his answers according to the points set down in the said writing, with such order and plainness, that he gave all that were present to understand, though the Bishop had written much, he had nevertheless concluded nothing, to the advantage of the Church of *Rome*.

Afterwards *Arnold* made a request, that forasmuch as the Bishops and himself in the beginning of their conference, were bound to prove whatsoever they affirmed only by the word of God, it might be laid upon the Bishops and Priests, to make good their Mass, as they sing it, part by part, to have been instituted by the Son of God, and sung in the like manner by his Apostles.

Apostles. But the Bishops were not able to prove, that the Mass, or any part thereof, was ordained, either by Jesus Christ, or his Apostles. With this the Bishops were much ashamed. For *Arnold* had brought them to the only canon, which they pretended to be the Best part of their Mass, touching which point he proved, that the holy Supper of our Lord was not the Mass. For if the Mass were the holy Supper instituted by our Saviour, there would remain after the consecration all that was in the Supper of the Lord, that is to say, Bread: but in the Mass there is no bread; for by transubstantiation the bread is vanished away; therefore the Mass, saith he, without bread, is not the holy Supper of the Lord, for there is bread.

Jesus Christ brake the bread, [The Priest breaks the
St. Paul brake the bread,] body, not the bread.

Therefore the Priest doth not that which Christ Jesus hath done, and St. Paul.

Upon the Antithesis which *Arnold* made touching the Supper of the Lord, and the mass, to prove that it came not from Christ nor his Apostles, the Monks, Bishops, Legates and Priests retired, not being willing to hear any more; and fearing lest they should work such an impression in those that were present, as might shake their belief touching the mass.

There were, about the same time, many other disputations,

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putations, as at *Serignan*, *Pamies*, but this was only to delay the *Albigenses* from further proceeding. For in the mean time whilst the Bishop of *Thoulouse*, and the Bishop of *Oncsimonde* disputed at *Pamies*, and the Pope's two Legates, with *Arnold* at *Montreal*, *Villeneuve*, Arbitrator and Moderator for the Bishops, signified, that there could be nothing determined or agreed upon; by reason of the coming of those armies that were to fight under the badge of the cross. This was the subtilty of the Pope, to entertain them in conferences touching the matter of religion; that in the mean time he might prepare great armies, to root out if he could, both themselves and their religion.

CH A P. II.

The end of the disputation touching religion.

NOW when Pope *Innocent* had prepared his armies of the *Cross*, and had dispersed them about the countries of the *Albigenses*, there were no longer any disputations, except with fire and faggots; the chief disputers being the executioners, and the Inquisitors, which the Pope made use of, for the extirpation of the *Albigenses*. The pretence of so famous an expedition was made against the Earl *Raymond* of *Thoulouse*, about the death of a certain *Jacobin Monk*, who was
said

slain to be slain by the *Albigenses*; for the Pope took from thence occasion to send throughout all *Europe* Preachers, to assemble men together, to take vengeance of the innocent blood of Fryar *Peter*, who had been slain by the Hereticks; promising Paradise to all who would come to this war for forty days. This war he called the holy war; and for which he gave the same pardons, the same indulgences, as he did unto those who went unto the wars of the holy land, for the conquest thereof. And as for the Earl *Reymond*, hear what terms he thundered against him in his bull. We ordain, that all Archbishops and Bishops, are to denounce, throughout all their dioceses, the Earl *Reymond* accursed and excommunicated, as being the murderer of a good servant of God; and that with the sound of a bell, and the extinction of candles, every Sunday and festival days. We promise moreover to all those that shall take arms, to revenge the said murder, forgiveness of their sins, seeing that the pestilent fellow seeks nothing else but to take away our lives. And forasmuch, as according to the law of the holy Canons, faith is not to be kept to him that keeps not his faith to God, we would have all to understand, that every man that is bound to the said Earl by oath of fidelity, society, alliance, or otherwise, by the apostolical authority, is absolved from any such bands; and it shall be lawful for every Catholick man, not only to pursue the person of the said Earl, but also to hold and possess his land, &c.

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We therefore admonish you more carefully, and exhort you speedily, as being a matter of great necessity, &c. That ye endeavour to understand by all the means that God shall reveal unto you, and study to abolish the heretical wickedness of these sectaries, and that more severely than the *Saracens*, fighting them with a strong hand, and a stretched out arm, as being worse than they, &c. Driving them out of the field of the Lord, taking from them their lands and livings, from which the Hereticks being banished, let Catholick inhabitants be substituted in their room.

The Pope writ to all christian Princes to arm themselves for the obtaining of that pardon by fighting against the *Albigenses*, which they obtained, if they passed beyond the seas against the *Turks*.

The Earl *Raymond*, being advertised what was plotted against him in *Europe*, at the instance of the Pope, sent unto him, humbly beseeching him not to condemn him, before he heard him speak; assuring him that he was no way culpable in the death of *Fryar Peter*, and that it was sufficiently verified that the murderer was fled to *Beaucaire*: he complained of the malice of his enemies, who had made false informations against him, touching the said murder: but all was in vain, for before his excuses came to *Rome*, the troops of those that bear the badge of the cross upon their coat-armour, were come to pour down their vengeance upon him and his lands; that is to say, the Duke of *Burgundy*,

Burgundy, the Earl of *Enneurs*, the Earl of *St. Paul*, the Earl of *Auxerre*, the Earl of *Geneva*, the Earl of *Poitiers*, the Earl of *Forests*, and the Earl *Simcon* of *Montfort*. The Earl of *Bar*, *Ginchard*, of *Beauieu*; and *Ganchier* of *Joigoui*. As also the ecclesiastical persons, who had levied in their dioceses a number of pilgrims and wandering people; there were the Archbishop of *Rouan*, the Bishop of *Clermont*, the Bishop of *Enners*, the Bishop of *Lizieux*, the Bishop of *Bayeux*, and the Bishop of *Chartres*, with divers others; every Bishop with the *Pilgrims* of his jurisdiction, to whom the Pope promised Paradise in heaven, but gave them not one penny upon earth, only he let them know, that in such a war there were more blows than pardons. This levy of pilgrims was in the year 1209. There was now a necessity either of opposing violence against violence, or to come to submission. The latter was thought the more easy, but yet dangerous. For to yield himself to the discretion of his enemies, was to bring himself into the danger of his own ruin. The Count *Raymond* therefore came to *Valence*, before the Pope's Legate named *Milo*.

Being entered the toil, he began to excuse himself, saying: that it seemed strange unto him, that so great a number of men should come in arms against him that used no other arms to defend himself, than his own innocency; that he was much wronged by those that persuaded the people that he was guilty of the death of the Monk, Fryar *Peter*, that before they had

had thus moved heaven and earth; as it were, they should have enquired of the truth of the fact, and not condemn a man before he was heard: that he had there many witnesses of the death of the said Monk, slain at *St. Giles*, by a certain gentleman, whom the said Monk pursued, who presently retired himself to his friends at *Boaucaire*.

That this murder was very displeasing unto him, and therefore he had done what lay in his power, to apprehend the murderer, and to chastise him, but that he escaped his hands: that had it been true which they laid to his charge, that he had embrued his hands in that blood, yet the ordinary courses of justice were to be taken against him, and not to have wrecked their vengeance upon his subjects that were innocent in this case. And therefore, saith he, to the said Legate, forasmuch as upon an assured trust and confidence, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience, I am come to yield myself into your hands; what need is there any more of the employment of these pilgrims, or wandering people, against him whom they have in their own power? That it was promised him, that when his honesty should be known, they that were in arms to fight against him would defend him: and therefore he humbly intreated the said Legate, to send a countermand to his soldiers, before they approached any further into his lands and territories, promising to justify himself of whatsoever was laid to his charge, in such a manner, that the Pope and the Church should rest contented: That his own person

person might serve for a sufficient pledge for the performance of these his promises.

The Legate answered, that the Earl of *Raymond* had done well in presenting himself before him, and informing him of his innocence, whereof he would advertise his holiness, and become an intercessor for him; but yet the business was of such importance, that he durst not rely only upon his own knowledge, much less send back his soldiers of the cross, that had cost him so much labour in gathering together, except he would give such assurance of his words, as might take away from the Pope and the Church, all shew or shadow that he may hereafter deal falsely with them that put their trust in him. And therefore he should not think it a difficult matter to deliver into his hands, seven of the best castles he had in *Provence*, which should serve for hostages.

The Earl of *Raymond* now saw, when it was too late, the error he had committed, by putting himself under the hatches; but it was too late to be re-advised, because the counsels which the Legate gave him were as commands. He knew himself to be a prisoner, and that he must now receive the law of him, into whose power he had unwisely cast himself; and therefore he made a shew of great willingness to obey to whatsoever was prescribed by the Legate, acknowledging that both his person and possessions were at the service of his holy Father, only beseeching the Legate, that

that his subjects might receive no more damage by the soldiers. The Legate promised all the favour that he desired in this respect, and presently sent to the county *Veneffin*, Master *Theod* Canon of *Gennes*, to put a garrison into the castles and places of importance in the said county, and to give commandment to all the Consuls of the cities thereof, to repair presently to the said Legate. Being come, they were given to understand, that the Earl *Reymond* had delivered up his Castles to the guard and power of the Pope, for proof of his fidelity to the Church; whereof they were to be advertised, to the end likewise, that they from thence forward, should acknowledge themselves to be the lawful subjects of his Holiness, in case the said Earl *Reymond* should do any thing against the oath of obedience which he had made to the Pope and to the Church of *Rome*; in which case, as already in those times, they were discharged of all oaths of fidelity given in times past to the said Earl, and his lands were confiscated to the Pope.

The Consuls being much astonished to see their Lord thus stript of all his lands and possessions, durst not refuse in the presence of himself, to do whatsoever the said Legate required at their hands. But that which did afflict them most, was, that they saw the Earl *Reymond* conducted to *St. Giles*, where he was reconciled to the Pope, and to the church, with these ceremonies that follow. First, the Legate commanded the said Earl *Reymond* to strip himself stark naked, without

without the church of *St. Giles*, having only to cover his nakedness, a close pair of linen breeches, the rest was all bare, head, feet, and shoulders. Then he put a stole, which the priests wear about their neck, upon his neck, and leading him by the said stole, he made him go nine times about the grave of the deceased Fryar *Peter*, who had been buried in the said church, scourging him with rods, which the Legate had in his hand, as long as he went about the said sepulchre.

The Earl *Raymond* demanded satisfaction for this extraordinary penance, for a sin which he had not committed, for he had not killed the Monk: the Legate answered him, that notwithstanding he had not killed him, nor caused him to be killed, yet forasmuch as this murder was committed, within his territories, and he had made no pursuit after the murderer, this murder was deservedly imputed unto him, and therefore that he was to satisfy the Pope and the church by this his humble repentance, if he desired to be reconciled to the one and to the other. It was therefore necessary he should likewise be scourged in the presence of the Earls, Barons, Marquisses, Prelates, and all the people.

He made him to swear upon the *Corpus Domini*, as they call it, and certain other relics, which were brought thither for that purpose, that he should all his life time, be obedient in all things to the Pope and the church of *Rome*; and that he should make perpetual,
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mortal, and irreconcilable war against the *Albigenses*, until they were either utterly exterminated, or brought to the obedience of the church of *Rome*; which to perform, he having solemnly and by force sworn, the Legate to honour him the more, and to bind him to do what he had sworn, made him captain and leader of the soldiers of the cross, for the siege of *Beniers*; which he did, to the end he might drive the *Albigenses* into despair, ever to be defended by him, who having abjured their religion, had now power and charge to persecute them.

CHAP. III.

The perplexity of the Earl Raymond: The siege of Beniers.

THE Earl *Raymond* was much perplexed about that charge that was given him for conducting the army of the soldiers of the cross before *Beniers*. For to carry himself as an enemy against the *Albigenses*, was to act against his conscience, and to bind himself to the perpetual servitude of the Pope and his Legates. On the other side, if he should fly, and forsake the army, this was to furnish them with new matter of persecution; for in such a case they might justly pursue him, as a perfidious and perjured person; and if he should be apprehended, he would be in danger of losing his life, goods, and friends all together.

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And yet, in fulfilling the charge the Legate laid upon him, he must be an instrument of the loss of *Beziers*, and the total destruction of the subjects of his nephew the Earl of *Beziers*, yea, and his nephew himself. In this extremity and anguish of spirit, he chose rather to stay in the army for certain days, and afterwards took his leave of the Legate, and went to *Rome*, to humble himself before the Pope, which could not be denied him. In the mean time they made an approach to the city of *Beziers*, the rams, slings, and other engines of war were provided to give a general assault; setting to the walls of the city so great a number of ladders, that it was impossible to resist the furious assault which the Pilgrims made with all the force and power they had.

The Earl of *Beziers* went out of the city, and cast himself down at the feet of the Legate *Milon*, craving mercy for his city of *Beziers*; and humbly beseeching him not to inflict the same punishment upon the innocent and the guilty, which without all doubt must needs come to pass, if *Beziers* should be taken by force; that there would be great effusion of blood on both sides, which might be avoided. That there were within *Beziers* a great number of good Roman Catholics who would be subject to the same ruin, contrary to the intention of the Pope, whose desire was only to chastise the *Albigenses*. That if it pleased him not to spare his subjects for the love of themselves, that he would yet have regard unto him; to his age and profession, since the loss would light upon himself, being in his

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minority, and a most obedient servant to the Pope, as having been brought up in the Romish Church, and in which he would both live and die. And if he took it ill that such persons as were enemies to the Pope, had been tolerated within his territories, it ought not to be imputed unto him; because he had no other subjects but those which his deceased father had left unto him; and that in his minority, and afterwards in that little time wherein he had been master of his own goods, he could not as yet, by reason of his incapacity know this evil, nor minister the remedy, though it were his purpose so to do; but yet his hope was in time to come, to give all satisfaction that might be, both to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, as an obedient son both of the one and of the other.

The answer of the Legate was, that all his excuses availed nothing; he must do as he thought proper.

The Earl of *Beziers* returned into the city, and assembled the people together, giving them to understand, that after he had submitted himself to the Legate, he mediated for them; not being able to obtain any other thing at his hands, but pardon upon conditions that they that made profession of the belief of the *Albigenses*, should come and abjure their religion, and promise to live according to the laws of the church of *Rome*.

The Roman Catholics intreated them to yield to this

this so great a violence, and not to be the cause of their death, since the Legate was resolved not to pardon any, if they lived not all under one and the same law.

The *Albigenses* answered, that they would not forsake their religion for the base price of this frail life; for they knew well that God was able to defend them, if it pleased him; and if he would be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be a great honour to them to die for righteousness sake; that they had rather displease the Pope, who could destroy their bodies only, than God who could cast both body and soul into hell fire: that they would never be ashamed, or deny that religion, by which they have been taught to know Christ; or with the danger of an eternal death, profess a religion which makes void the merit of Christ; and that therefore they would covenant for themselves as they could, and promise nothing contrary to the duty of true christians.

This being understood, the Roman Catholics sent their Bishop to the Legate, humbly to intreat him, that he would not include in this chastisement of the *Albigenses*, those that were always obedient to the church of *Rome*, of whom he that was their Bishop had certain knowledge; being likewise assured that the rest were not altogether past hope of repentance, but that they might be won by gentle means, best besitting the

the church, which took no pleasure in the effusion of blood.

The Legate hereby grew into extreme rage and passion; swearing and protesting with horrible threats, that if they that were in the city did not acknowledge their fault, and submit themselves to the church of Rome, they should all taste of one cup; and without respect of Catholic, sex, or age, they should all be exposed to fire and sword. And immediately he commanded that the city should be summoned to yield itself to his discretion; which they refusing to do, he caused all his engines of war to play, and commanded a general assault to be made. Nor was it possible for those that were within, to resist so great a violence, in such sort, being thus assaulted, by above a hundred thousand *Pilgrims*; in the end, they within were vanquished, and the enemies being entered, slew a great multitude, and afterwards set fire to the city, and burnt it to ashes.

The city being taken, the Priests, Monks, and Clerks came forth of the great church of *Beziers*, called St. *Nazari*, with the banner, the crosses, their holy water, bare-headed, attired with ornaments of the church, and singing, *Te Deum laudamus*, as a sign of joy that the town was taken, and purged of the *Albigenses*. But the soldiers who had received command from the Legate to kill all, ran in upon them, brake the order of their procession, made the heads and arms of the Priests to fly

fly about, striving who should do best, in such a manner, that they were all cut in pieces.

Now the city being burnt, razed and ranfacked, the Pilgrims, who thought they merited paradise by this sacrilege and effusion of blood, were speedily conducted to *Carcaffonne*, before the forty days which they vowed to the church of *Rome*, were expired, because then they were permitted every man to depart to his own home.

CH A P. IV.

The siege and taking of Carcaffonne.

THE Earl of *Beaigers*, when he saw that he could obtain nothing of the Legate in favour of the city of *Beziers*, having left his charge to the Bishop, to make trial whether he by any means could obtain pardon for those poor inhabitants; and in the mean time, because he knew very well that having taken *Beziers*, he would not suffer the city of *Carcaffonne* to continue in peace; for being strong by nature, the Legate knew there was no store-house for the war, nor better place of repose for the soldiers; he put himself therefore into *Carcaffonne*, being accompanied with his most faithful attendants.

He was followed quickly, by the Legate's army,
unto

unto which there came new soldiers of the Cross; namely, the Bishop of *Agensis*, the Bishop of *Limoges*, of *Bazados*, of *Cobors*, and the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, every one with the pilgrims of their own diocese; There likewise arrived the Earl of *Turaine*, and the Lord of *Bastlenau*, of *Montrichier*, who conducted the troops of *Querci*, and of all these troops the chief leader was the Earl of *Dunoy*. There came also a great multitude of *Lombards* and *Germans*, and that in so great a number, that the army of the Legate *Milon*, rose to the number of three hundred thousand fighting men, when he came before *Carcaffonne*.

The situation of *Carcaffonne* is thus. There is a city, and a borough or town. The city is seated upon a little hill, environed with a double wall: the town is in the plain, distant from the city about two miles. At that time the city was accounted a place of great strength; and in this city there dwelt a great number of *Albigenses*. The Pilgrims thought to have taken it at the first fight, for they ran with great violence upon the first rampart, and filled the ditch with faggots; but they were beaten back with such courage and resolution, that the ground was covered with the dead bodies of pilgrims, round about the city.

The young Earl of *Beziers*, Lord of *Carcaffonne*, won great honour in this first day's encounter, encouraging his subjects, and telling them, they must remember the treatment of *Beziers*: that they were to deal with the same
enemies,

enemies, who had changed the siege, not the humour nor the will to exterminate them if they could. That it was far better for them to die fighting, than to fall into the hands of such cruel and merciless enemies. That for his own part, he made profession of the Romish religion, but yet he saw very well, that this war was not for religion, but a certain robbery agreed upon, to invade the goods and lands of the Earl of *Raymond* and his own. That they had greater cause to defend themselves than he, who could lose no more than his goods and his life without change of his religion; but they might lose that, and besides the exercise of their religion too; that he would never abandon them in so honourable an action, which was to defend themselves against the invasions of their common enemies, masked with an outward appearance of piety, and in effect real thieves,

The *Albigenses* being much animated by the speech of this young Lord, swore unto him, that they would spend their goods and their lives, for the preservation of the City of *Carcassonne*, and whatsoever concerned the said Lord. The next day the Legate commanded a general assault to be made upon the borough of *Carcassonne*. The people within, very valiantly defended themselves; but the ladders were so charged with men, and so near the one to the other, that they touched one another, insomuch that they forced those within from the walls, and so entered the town, carrying themselves towards the inhabitants thereof, after the same manner

as they had done before to those of *Beziers*; for they put them all to the sword and fire.

While these things were doing, the king of *Arragon* arrived at the army of the Legate; and went first to the tent of the Earl *Raymond*, who was constrained to give his assistance at this siege against his own nephew. From whence he went to the Legate, and told him that having understood, that his kinsman the Earl of *Beziers* was besieged within *Carcassonne*, he was come to do his best endeavour, to make the said Earl to understand his duty towards the Pope and the church; which he presumed he should the more easily do, because he knew well, that the said Earl, had always made profession of the *Romish* religion.

The Legate gave him leave, to undertake what he had said. The king of *Arragon*, made his approach to the rampart. The Earl of *Beziers* came to parley with him. The king of *Arragon* desired to know of him, what had moved him to shut up himself within the city of *Carcassonne* against so great an army of Pilgrims. The Earl answered, that it highly became him, having so necessary and so just cause, to defend his life, his goods, and his subjects; that he knew well that under the pretence of religion, the Pope had a purpose utterly to overthrow the Earl *Raymond* his uncle, and himself. That he found by that mediation which he had made for his subjects of *Beziers*, the Roman Catholics, whereof he would not receive into grace and favour,

favour, neither had spared the priests themselves, who were all cut in pieces, even adorned with their priestly ornaments, and under the banner of the cross. That this example of cruel impiety, added unto that which had passed in the town of *Carcaffonne*, where they were all exposed to fire and sword, without distinction of age or sex, had taught him not to look for any mercy either at the hands of the Legate or his Pilgrims. And that therefore he chose rather to die with his subjects defending himself, than to be exposed to the mercy of so inexorable an enemy as the Legate was. And that notwithstanding there were within the city of *Carcaffonne* divers of his subjects that were of a contrary religion to that of the church of *Rome*; yet they were such a people as had never wronged any; and were come to succour him in his greatest extremity; and for this their good service, he was resolved not to abandon them, as they had promised for their part to expose their lives and goods for his defence to all hazard and danger whatsoever. That his trust was in God, who is the defender of the oppressed, that he would be pleased to assist them, against that world of men ill-advised, who under the colour of meriting heaven, had forsaken their houses, to burn, pillage, ransack, and kill in the houses of other men, without either reason, justice or mercy.

The king of *Arragon* returned to the Legate, who assembled together divers of his great Lords and Prelates, to hear what the king of *Arragon* would relate unto

unto him ; who told him, that he found the Earl of *Beziers*, his kinsman, much discontented with the former proceedings against his subjects of *Beziers*, and the town of *Carcaffonne*, which gave him reason to believe, that forasmuch as they had not spared the Roman Catholicks, nor the Priests, that it was not a war undertaken for the cause of religion ; but under the colour of religion, a kind of robbery ; that his hope was, that God would give him the grace to know his innocence, and the just occasion he had to defend himself ; that they should no longer hope they would yield themselves to their discretion, because they saw their discretion was no other, but to kill as many as should yield themselves thereunto ; and that therefore if it would please the Legate, to grant unto the Earl of *Beziers* and his subjects some tolerable composition, that gentleness and mercy would sooner join the *Albigenses* to the church of *Rome*, than extreme cruelty.

The Legate answered the king of *Arragon*, that if he would retire himself a little, they would consult together of that which should be done.

The king being recalled, the Legate gave him to understand, that for his sake, and in consideration of his intercession, he would extend mercy to the Earl of *Beziers*, and with him a dozen might likewise come forth with their bag and baggage, if he thought good ; but for the people that were in the city of *Carcaffonne*, they should not depart, but at his discretion, whereof they

they should hope well (mark well,) because he was the Pope's Legate, and that they should all come forth naked, men, women, maids, children, without shirts, shifts, or any other covering, to hide their nakedness. Also that the Earl of *Beziers* should be delivered to a sure guard, and all his goods to remain to the future Lord of the country, who should be chosen for the preservation thereof.

Though the King of *Arragon* saw this composition to be unworthy the proposing to the Earl of *Beziers*, yet nevertheless he thought good to discharge his office herein; to whom the Earl of *Beziers* answered, that he would never come forth upon such conditions, and so unjust; and that he was resolved to defend himself with his subjects, by such means as it should please God to give unto him.

The King of *Arragon* retired himself, not without great discontent at this unjust proceeding. The Legate hereupon commanded all his engines of war to play, and that they should take the city by force. But it was a spectacle little pleasing to him; seeing he was an eye-witness of the loss of a great number of his Pilgrims. For they of the city threw down such a quantity of great stones, with fire, pitch, brimstone, and boiling water; and galled the assailants with such infinite numbers of arrows, that the earth was covered, and the ditches filled with the dead bodies of the Pilgrims, which caused a most noisome stench, both in the

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camp and in the city. This rude overthrow caused many of his soldiers of the cross to forage and seek for booty abroad, as having accomplished their term of forty days, during the which they had gained Paradise; and refused to conquer any more after so fair a purchase, for fear they should change their felicity for deadly blows.

The Legate being much troubled to see his company reduced to so small a number, bethought himself of a stratagem, which he effected, and it was this: he sent for a certain gentleman who was in the army, telling him that it was in his power to do a notable piece of service to the Church, whereby, besides the reward he should receive in heaven, he should in this life be recompenced according to his merit. And so he told him that he was to approach as near as he could to the ramparts of the city of *Carcaffone*, and there make some signs to those that were besieged, that he desired to have some parley with them, and to speak with the Earl of *Brixen* as his kinsman and servant; to whom he had something to say, that might redound to his great honour, and all that were within *Carcaffone*; and that then he should do his best to put him in fear, and to persuade him to have recourse unto his mercy; and whilst to work him by persuasions, promises, and oaths, with execrations, of which, he being the Pope's Legate, had power always to acquit and discharge him, to be content to be conducted by him to the Legate, with

with assurance to bring him back again safe and sound into *Carcassonne*.

This gentleman played his part so well, that he brought with him the Earl of *Breizers*, to speak with the Legate ; where the young Earl told him, that if he would be pleased to carry himself with greater mildness towards his subjects, he might easily reclaim them as he would himself, and win the *Albigenses* to the church ; that the composition which was offered them, was dishonourable, and ill-befitting those who ought to have their eyes as chaste as their thoughts ; and that his people would rather choose to die, than to be brought to so great a shame ; and therefore he humbly intreated him to be more merciful unto them, promising to persuade his subjects to accept of any other condition more tolerable.

The answer of the Legate was : that they of *Carcassonne* might determine with themselves, as they thought best, and that he in the mean time should take no care for them ; for he was now his prisoner until *Carcassonne* was taken, and his subjects had better learnt their duty.

The Earl being much astonished at this, protested and averred he was betrayed, and faith was violated ; and that he was come thither upon the word of a gentleman, given with oaths and execrations, that he would conduct him back safe and sound into the city

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of *Carcaffonne*. But being demanded who and where that gentleman was, this young Earl was taught that it was no wisdom to leave his city, upon the warrant of simple words only. He was committed to custody.

The inhabitants of *Carcaffonne* having understood of the imprisonment of their Lord, broke out into tears, and were struck with strange astonishment, inso-much that they now thought of nothing so much, as how to escape the danger they were in ; but all means of escape, to the outward appearance were taken away, for they were shut up on all sides, and the trenches full of men. But one among the rest told them, that he did remember, that he had heard some ancient men of the city say, that there was in *Carcaffonne* a certain channel under ground, so great that men might walk in it upright, and many together, which continued to the castle of *Cameret*, in *Cabiaret*, about three leagues from *Carcaffonne*; and that if the entry thereof could be found, God had provided for them a miraculous deliverance. Hereupon all the citizens were employed about searching for the channel, except the guard, which were upon the rampart. At the last, the mouth or entrance thereof being found, they all began their journey through it, about the beginning of the night, with their wives and children, carrying only with them some victuals for a few days. This remove and departure accompanied with cries, and sorrow to leave their houses and movables, furnished with all man-
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ner of goods and furniture, to betake themselves to an uncertain course to save themselves by flight, leading with them their infants, and old decrepid people, was a most heavy and lamentable spectacle. They arrived the next day at the said castle, and from thence they dispersed themselves here and there, some to *Aragon*, others to *Catalangue*, others to *Tholouse*, and other towns that took part with them, wither it pleased God to conduct them.

On the morrow the *Pilgrims* were strangely astonished, for that they heard no noise all that night; but much more because they saw no man stirring that day. They came near the walls, but yet with some doubt, fearing lest it should be a bait to draw them into a snare; but yet nevertheless finding nothing that might make them any way distrustful, they mounted the breach, entered the city, and cried out to the army, that the *Albigenses* were fled. The Legate speedily sent to make public proclamation, that no man should seize upon any booty in his own right, but that all should be carried to the great church of *Carcaffonne*, from whence afterwards all things should be brought and sold for the benefit of the *Pilgrims*, rewarding every one according to his merit. And so it was done, and the Earl of *Beziere* committed to prison in one of the strongest towers of *Carcaffonne*.

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CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Legate Milon appoints the Earl of Mountfort Captain.

THE city of *Carcassonne* being in the possession of the Legate, he resolved with himself to make it a town of war, an arsenal against the *Albigenses*, and presently assembled all the Prelates and great Lords who were yet in his army, to take counsel how he might make it a place fit to maintain a war of long continuance in time to come. Besides, he gave them to understand, that notwithstanding he thought it very necessary, that there should be always in the armies of the Church, a Legate of his Holiness, to give authority to whatsoever should pass; yet nevertheless it was likewise necessary that there should be a secular Captain of the war, one that was wise and valiant, absolute to command all occurrences, and to expedite all affairs concerning the war by his prudence and government; it not belonging to the capacity of ecclesiastical persons to lead armies, or to make war; and that therefore they should consult with themselves, to cast their eyes upon some one of the Lords of the Cross, to whom the conquered countries might be committed, and the direction of this holy war, until it might be otherwise determined by the Pope.

This charge was first offered to the Duke of *Burgundy*, afterwards to the Earl of *Enneuers*, and to the Earl of *St. Paul*, who all refused it. Which the Legate seeing

seeing, and perceiving it would be a difficult matter to agree in the nomination of a Captain; with one mutual consent they named two Bishops, with the Abbot of *Cistaux*, Legate of the apostolic see, and four men of arms, to whom they gave power to choose him, that hereafter should lead the army of the Church.

They named the Earl *Simon of Montfort*, notice whereof being given him, he excused himself, alledging his incapacity and inability; but in the end he accepted of it, after that the Abbot of *Cistaux* had laid his commands upon him, enjoining him by virtue of obedience, to accept of the said nomination; whereupon he promised to do his best to vex the enemies of our Lord, for so they termed the *Albigenses*.

The Earl of *Montfort*, being General of the Army of the Church, made his abode at *Carcassonne*, with four thousand of his Pilgrims, which as yet remained of that great levy of three hundred thousand men. *Montreal*, *Faviaux*, and *Limons*, contributed great sums of money for the garrison. For they were not to harbour those pilgrims that were not bound to any service, their time of forty days being expired; but such soldiers as were well affected for the guard of that place.

In this mean time, the Earl *Reymond of Thoulouse*, went to King *Philip*, to get his letters of recommendation to the Pope, to the end he might be fully cleared
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and justified, touching the death of the Monk, *Peter*, of which he was unjustly forced to confess himself guilty, only because the murder was committed within his territories, for which the Legate *Milan* had imposed an unjust penance upon him. From the court of the King of *France* he travelled to *Rome*, where he immediately received absolution of Pope *Innocent* the third, as if it had been provided for him. The Pope received him with all the courtesy that might be, giving him for a present, a rich cloak, and a ring of great price; and granting unto him full remission and absolution touching the said murder, and declaring that he held him in this regard sufficiently justified.

The Earl of *Beziers* being prisoner at *Carcassonne*, died shortly after, not without suspicion of poison, and the Earl of *Montfort* was put in possession of his lands. The Earl *Simon* made shew of great sorrow, and caused him to be interred in the great Church of *Carcassonne*, with great pomp; and with his face uncovered, to the end that none of his subjects might afterwards doubt of his death. Presently after he made challenge of the inheritance and whole estate of the said Earl, by virtue of those donations which the Legate of the Pope had conferred upon him, and that charge that was laid upon him for the Church.

In pursuit whereof he demanded of the King of *Arragon*, the investiture of the Earldom of *Beziers*, and the city of *Carcassonne*. The King of *Arragon* would
not

not yield thereunto, shewing much discontent, to see this house overthrown under a pretence of religion. The like discontent did the Duke of *Burgongus* shew, at what time the charge of the General was offered unto him, saying, *That he had lands andlor dffhips enough without accepting of those of the Earl of Beziers, and the spoiling him of his goods, adding therewithal, that he had already suffered wrong enough.*

All the bordering neighbours of the Earl *Simon* began to fear him, upon a report which he issued out, that in the spring following, he would have a great army of Pilgrims at his command, and then he would chastise those who had not acknowledged the authority wherein the Church had placed him. *Cassres* sent unto him the keys of their city by some of their Burgessees. The castle of *Pamice* was yielded unto him; every one submitted themselves to his command, round about *Carcassonne*, and the viscounty of *Beziers*. But he received a back-blow in the midst of his prosperity, which was a presage unto him of some evil.

For the King of *Arragon* keeping secretly the Gentlemen of the viscounty of *Beziers* in breath, encouraged them to bring to terms this petty tyrant, saying, That if he had always a world of Pilgrims for his conquests, he would take heart to invade the property of all those who are near, under a pretence of that charge he hath from the Pope: but if he once knew how dangerous it would be for him, to want his soldiers of the
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cross, he would be better advised, considering that it is not possible, that he should always have so great a number of Pilgrims; for there must be time for the levying of them, time for the conducting of them from far countries; and if he should make no use of them within forty days of their arrival, he would be more weak than before, after the expiration of their pilgrimage. That to hinder him there can be no better course taken than to keep themselves locked up in their garrisons at the coming of the Pilgrims, and at their departure, when they were weak, to set upon him on every side; that at the last he will be so weary of his great work, that he will think he hath bought at a dear rate, the good which he believed he had gotten by the title of a donation, from those who had nothing to give.

The king of *Arragon* added hereunto that he had never heard of so unjust a usurpation; for if this war were made to take away the goods and lives of the *Albigenses*, by what title had the Legate confiscated the goods of the Earl of *Braziers*, who had always lived, and even died in the belief of the church of *Rome*. That he therefore perceived, that the greatest crime they could find in the said Earl, was, that they found him to be too young, and feeble. That if God gave him life, he would make it appear, that he loved the Earl of *Braziers*, and that he was his kinsman, and would likewise shew himself a true friend, to those that had any feeling of those wrongs and outrages that were offered him. The hope of being succoured by
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the King of Aragon, gave heart and courage unto those, that with great impatience bare the tyranny and oppression of the Earl Simon of Montfort, in such sort, that the Earl being one day gone from Carcassonne, to Montpellier, he found at his return, that divers had taken arms, to shake off his yoke, having besieged his soldiers in a tower near Carcassonne. He speedily made his return to succour them, but too late, for not being able to pass a river called Saraghe, and being gone to Carcassonne to pass by the bridge, the tower was taken before he came. This small affront brought him into some contempt, and gave heart to others, to offer the like.

The war now began to grow very cruel, for if it be true what the Monk of the vallies Sernay hath written, they caused the eyes of all the soldiers of the Earl Simon to be pluckt out, and sent them to the Earl Simon of Montfort, leaving one, for a guide unto the rest, with one eye. On the other hand, whensoever the Earl was victorious in any place, he caused a great fire to be made, and cast into it as many of the *Albigenses* as he could take.

Then the city of Carcassonne, saith the Monk, and the soldiers that were in it, were stricken with such fear, That they had little hope to defend themselves but by flight, for they saw themselves environed on all sides with infinite enemies. From these miseries, which did much move the patience of the Earl Simon, he took occasion to write, to all the Prelates throughout Europe, that if in
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the spring following, he were not assisted with new succours of Pilgrims, it was impossible for him to hold out, for his enemies finding his weakness, took the advantage thereof: witness that after the last departure of the Pilgrims, he had lost above forty towns and castles, of which the people had brought him the keys, and were all revolted from him and the church, being beyond his power to remedy it for want of men. He therefore intreated them in the name of God, to give their helping hand, otherwise he must be forced to yield up the rights of the church and the country altogether. What kind of a church is that which assumes a right to plunder and destroy all before it?

Matters standing thus, the Earl *Simon* obtaining new succours, took the castle of *Beron* near *Montreal*; where he caused the eyes of above a hundred *Albigenses* to be pulled out, and cut off their noses, leaving only one with one eye to be a guide to the rest, and to conduct them to *Cabaret*. This stirred up the *Albigenses* in such sort, that had not succours instantly come, they had shut him up on every side.

CHAP. VI.

New succours of Pilgrims come to the Earl Simon.

IN the year 1210, the Earl *Simon* being shut up, saith the treasure of histories, within *Carcassonne*,
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for want of Pilgrims, he understood that the Countess his wife, came from *France*, and brought with her a great number of *Pilgrims*, which gave him great comfort, and he went out to meet her.

A strange war it was, wherein priests levied the soldiers, and a woman conducted them to the field of battle.

The *Pilgrims* were employed in the recovery of the castle of *Menerbe*, a place very strong by nature, upon the frontiers of *Spain*. This siege was procured by the intreaties of *Ameri*, Lord of *Narbonne*, and the inhabitants thereof, who complained that always in former times this place had been as a thorn in their feet. They yielded themselves for want of water, to the discretion of the Legate, who caused the Pilgrims to enter the place with the cross and the banner, and singing *Te Deum laudamus*. The Abbot of *Vaux* would needs preach to those that were within the castle, and to exhort them to acknowledge the Pope, and to stick to the Romish Church; but they not staying till he had ended his discourse, all cried out, saying, *We will not forsake our faith, we reject the Romish faith, you labour but in vain; for neither life nor death shall make us to abandon our belief*. Upon this answer, the Earl *Simon* and the Legate, commanded a great fire to be made, and cast into it a hundred and forty persons, as well women as men, who went into it with joy, giving thanks unto God that it pleased him to honour them, to suffer and

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to die for his name's sake. Thus did these true martyrs of Christ Jesus finish their frail lives in the midst of the flames, to live eternally in heaven. And thus did they triumph over the Legate of the Pope, resisting him to his face; and threatening the just judgment of God upon the Earl Simon, and that one day he would pay dearly for his cruelties, when the books should be opened. There were a number of Priests and Monks who exhorted them to take pity on themselves, promising them their lives, if they would live according to the belief of the church of Rome.

After this expedition, the Earl Simon besieged the castle of *Tarbes*, in the same territories of *Norlannay* a place that seemed impregnable to any force of man. It was taken for want of water, not by any capitulation: but by having had a long time a great want of water, it rained and they drank of the water which fell into their cisterns, not sufficiently purified, whereupon they fell into divers diseases. Seeing therefore themselves brought to such a state, that if they had been driven to fight, they had no power to make resistance; they resolved one night to quit the place; not being deserted by any: The soldiers of the Bishop of *Chartres* entered as soon as they perceived they were all departed, and there set up the ensign of their Bishop.

Amongst other reasons which the Earl Simon used, to animate his *Pilgrims*, this was the most effectual, namely,

namely, this place was the most execrable of all the rest, because there had been no mass sung there since the year 1180, that is to say for the space of thirty years.

The castle *De la Vaur* vexed the Earl exceedingly. It was besieged with new troops of *Pilgrims*, which came from *France*, whilst the siege was at *Termes*, that is to say, the Bishop of *Chartres*, of *Beauvais*, the Earl of *Dreux*, and the Earl of *Pontieure*. This place was upon the river of *Agotte*, about five leagues from *Carcassonne*, towards *Thoulouse*, whereof the sister of Lord *Montreal* was lady. The Legate had taken from the Lord of *Montreal* all his places, which was the cause why he put himself into the city *de la Vaur* to defend his sister. There were within this place many honest men: There came *Pilgrims* from all parts to the Legate: From *Normandy* the troops being conducted by their Bishops, especially by him of *Lisieux*; and there came also unto him six thousand *Almans*. The Earl of *Foix* being advertised which way they came, went and lay in ambush for them, and destroyed them all; not any escaping, but a certain Earl, who at the first encounter, ran away to carry news to the Earl *Simon*, who pursued the Earl of *Foix*, with 14,000 men, but in vain, for he had before retired himself to *Montiscard*.

After six months siege, the city of *la Vaur* was taken

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by assault, where all were put to the sword, except fourscore gentlemen, whom the Earl *Simon* caused to be hanged, and *Aimeri* was hanged upon a gibbet, higher than the rest; and the lady of *Lavar* was cast into a ditch, and therein covered with stones. One only act of humanity we read was done by the troops of the Earl *Simon*; and that is, that a gentleman understanding that there were in a house divers women and children sick, he begged them of the general, and they were granted unto him; who conducted them safe out of the city, not the least indignity being offered them.

These were the principal places that the Legate took in the year 1210. We must now return to the Earl *Reymond*, of *Tholouse*; who at his return from *Rome*, with letters of favour from the Pope, gave the Legate *Milon* to understand, that he was reconciled unto the Pope, and had received from him his full absolution, and that he had bestowed upon him some presents. This affair is related otherwise in the treasure of histories, for there it is said, *That the Pope writ to the Bishop of Rhodois, and Theodosius, that if the Earl could purge himself sufficiently before them, of the death of Friar Peter, and the heresy for which he was suspected, that they should give him his absolution.*

This clause gave authority to the Legate, to perplex the Earl, touching the aforesaid business, and to bring him back again to the beginning of all his misery

ery. The Earl *Simon* pressed the Legate to proceed in the fact of the Earl *Raymond*, either to absolve, or to condemn him ; to the end he might know, whether he should hold him for a friend or for an enemy of the Pope and of the church ; to be at peace with him, or to make war against him.

The Legate *Milon* commanded him to appear in his own person, because he would know once for all, how he and his subjects lived with them, that is, with the Earl *Simon* and the church.

The Earl *Raymond* answered, that neither he nor his subjects had any thing to do with them ; that he had made his agreement and reconciliation with the Pope, which the Legate could not be ignorant of, to whom he had shewed the *Bulls* ; and therefore he intreated them to forbear any farther to disquiet him. The Earl *Simon* and the Legate writ unto him again, that it was very necessary, that he should repair unto him to fulfil the contents of the *Bulls*. He answered that he had rather take the pains to go to *Philip*, king of France, and to the Emperor, yea to *Rome*, to the Pope himself, to complain of the wrongs they did him, than to put himself any more into their hands.

When the Legate saw that he could not win him by letters, he resolved to play the fox, and to win him by subtleties. They sent unto him *Folquet*, Bishop of *Thoulouse*, and instructed him how he should carry him-

self to deceive him. This was a capable instrument for the premeditated treason. He went therefore to the Earl *Reymond*, insinuated himself into his favour, with feigned protestations of his desire to serve him, and his grief to see so little love betwixt the Legate and himself; wishing that it were in his power to stand him in any stead therein, though with the loss of his own blood, and offering unto him all favour and assistance. That he had far greater reason to procure the preservation of his good, than any other person whatsoever. That he would advise him as a friend, to take from the Legate all pretence of suspicion. That when he had once shewed himself confident of him, they would no longer doubt of his fidelity; and that even now a fair occasion was offered, to bind the Legate and the Earl *Simon* unto him; and that was, that whereas he knew they were shortly to come to *Toulouse*, if he would offer unto them his castle *Narbonne* to lodge in, it would be an excellent testimony of that confidence he had in them, and bind them to love him. The Earl *Reymond* being thus gulled by this bishop, offered them his castle, and they accepted it, and presently placed therein a great garrison. The word had no sooner slipped the Earl's mouth, than he was sure he should repent it, but it was now too late to recal it. He cursed his own imprudence, his too great facility; for he saw them immediately fortify his castle, that it might serve them for a bridle for his own subjects: As also from the time of their entrance into that place, he found that they grew bold to speak all the ill they could

could of him, and that with open mouth : saying that he had mocked the Pope, giving him to understand that which was false ; and promising that which he would never perform, insomuch that he was as great an heretick as he was before his abjuration.

That in the ruin of the Earl *Reymond*, they judged the destruction of the *Albigenses* consisted : but on the contrary, though the ground were covered with the dead bodies of the *Albigenses*, if the Earl *Reymond* should remain, they would always bud and spring up again ; and therefore it was resolved to exterminate and utterly to destroy the house of *Reymond* from the bottom to the top. But when men purpose that which God hath otherwise disposed, they come many times short ; so it was with the Earl *Simon*, who was frustrated of this hope, by the sudden and unexpected death of the Legate *Milon*, which changed the face of the affairs of the Earl *Simon* : For he was fain to spend many years in the ruining of that house of the Earl *Reymond* and his adherants, which he had promised to do in a few days.

CHAP VII.

Theodosius succeeds the Legate Milon, &c.

IN the year 1211, *Theodosius*, who succeeded the Legate *Milon*, gave the earl *Reymond* to understand, that he

He should have what was just and right touching his affairs, and with fair words persuaded him to come to *St. Giles*. Being there, he ript up the business touching the murder of the *Friar Peter*, from the beginning; without consideration of any precedent justification, and excommunicated the *Earl Raymond*, not as being guilty of the death of the said Monk, but because he had not driven the *Albigenses* out of his country as he was bound by promise. The *Earl Raymond* having felt the blast of the said excommunication, retired himself to *Thoulouse*, not speaking a word, before the Legate had means to publish the sentence.

The Bishop of *Thoulouse* knowing he was excommunicated, sent one to warn him to depart out of *Thoulouse*, during the time Mass was singing; it being improper to say Mass, while an excommunicated person was within the city. *Raymond* being much moved with the audacity of the Bishop, sent a gentleman, to tell him, that he must depart, and that speedily out of his territories, upon pain of death. The Bishop departed and sent to the Provost of the cathedral Church, and to the Canons, that they were to depart with the Cross, and the Banner, and the Host; and for the greater show of devotion, they should go bare-foot in procession. In this equipage they arrived at the army of the Legate, where they were received as Martyrs, persecuted for the Mass, even with tears of the Pilgrims, and the general applause of every one.

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The Legate thought now that he had sufficient cause to prosecute the Earl *Reymond*, as a relapsed and impenitent man, but yet he desired much to get hold of him; because if he could once apprehend him, he would quickly force him to conclude that business as the Earl of *Beziers* did. To this purpose, he flattered him by letters, and by this means drew him once again to *Arles*. The Earl intreated the king of *Arragon* that he would be there, to hinder, if need should be, any foul play that might be offered. Being come to the place, the Legate commanded the king of *Arragon*, and the said Earl *Reymond*, that they should not depart the city, without his leave, upon pain of indignation, and to be prosecuted as rebels to the church. Some friend of the Earl procured him a sight of the articles of the sentence, which the Legate intended to publish against him, which were as follow.

That the Earl of *Thoulouse* shall immediately dismiss all his men of arms, not retaining one of them.

That he shall be obedient subject to the church, and shall repair the damages, and bear all costs and charges.

That throughout all his lands, no man shall eat more than two sorts of flesh.

That he shall expel out of his countries and territories, all the hereticks and their allies.

That

That he shall deliver into the hands of the Legate, and the Earl of *Montford*, all those who shall be named within one year.

That no man within his lands, noble or ignoble, shall wear any apparel of great price; but black and coarse cloaks.

That all strong places and castles of defence, belonging unto him, shall be laid even with the ground.

That no gentleman of his shall remain or dwell in any city or castle, but shall make his abode, the fields, and country houses, as a villager.

That he shall not levy in his lands any tolls, but those that have been of old time imposed.

That every master of an house, shall pay yearly to the Legate four *Thousand* pence.

That when the Earl of *Montford*, or any of his people shall pass through his territories, they shall pay nothing for any thing they take or spend.

That having performed all things, he shall go beyond sea, to make war against the *Turks*, never returning again into these parts, but by the commandment of the Legate.

That

That after all these things, the Legate and the Earl of *Montford* should restore unto him, all his lands and signories, when it should please them. Such is the genuine spirit of church tyranny, whenever it can be exercised.

These Articles being communicated to the King of *Aragon*, he found them so unjust, that he would stay no longer in that place, but counselled the Earl of *Tholeuse* presently to mount on horse-back, for fear lest they should seize his person, even to the full execution of those Articles; saying, they went about to enrich themselves by his spoils.

The Legate and the Earl *Simon* being much disconcerted, that this prey had escaped their hands, and knowing that he would no more suffer himself to be abused and over-reached by words; they endeavoured to get that by force, which by words they could not. Whereupon they went presently and besieged the castle of *Montferrand*, into which the Earl *Reymond* had put the Earl *Baudoni*, his brother, with the Viscount of *Montelar*, and divers other valiant men to defend that place, which he knew to be of great importance. After some assaults, the Earl *Simon* being out of all hope to win this place by force of arms, desired to speak with the Earl *Baudoni*; which having obtained, he told him that his brother made it appear unto the world, that he desired to undo him, in that he had shut him up in so paltry a place, which he very well
saw

saw he could not long defend; for that at the arrival of that world of Pilgrims, which were now marching towards him, he would quickly know, how great an oversight it was to lock up himself within so weak a hold: That if he did wait the violent assault of these Pilgrims, there would be no more place for mercy. That if he would yield himself and the place, he would leave it to his guard for the church; and besides, he would make him, for the time to come, a partner of his conquests, with such advantage, that he should shortly be a greater man than his brother, who had procured unto himself, by his rebellion, his utter overthrow. That he could never have power sufficient to resist the force of so many Kings, Princes and Potentates, who sent their people to this war, rewarded by their own zeal, without any charge to the Church. That every man would commend and admire this his retreat, besides the happiness he should gain unto himself, by consecrating himself to the service of God and his Church; and acquitting himself of that people all judged by the Church, worthy to be condemned to the fire. The Earl *Baudoni* suffered himself to be carried by the promises of the Earl *Simon*; and so delivered up the place, and put himself into *Brunituel*, a place very strong, which belonged to the Earl *Reymond*, and promised never to bear arms, but in defence of the Church. These two places drew with them, to the Earl *Simon's* party, other places adjoining.

The Earl *Reymond* being much astonished to see himself

himself betrayed, and abandoned by his own brother, bewailed his misfortunes at *Thoulouse*; when he understood that the Legate and the Earl *Simon*, had won over the king of *Arragon*, his only prop upon earth, under God. For the Legate wrote to him, that he should do greater service to the Pope and to the church, if he would once again become a mediator for the peace of the church. And to that end they intreated him to come to *Narbonne*, where they hoped to lay a good foundation.

He took his journey thither, where the first thing they proposed, was, to make some agreement betwixt the Earl of *Foix*, and the church, and the Earl *Simon*. A premeditated design again to spoil the Earl *Raymond* of his succours. Afterwards they gave him to understand, that the Earl *Simon* desired to live with him, as with his best kinsman and friend that he had in the world; and for this cause he was very willing to join in alliance with him; if he would be pleased to accept of a daughter of the Earl *Simon*, to marry with his eldest son. And such conditions they proposed unto him, that he was satisfied his son should marry the daughter of the said Earl *Simon*; in regard of which alliance, the King of *Arragon*, gave to the Earl *Simon* the investiture of the Earldom of *Beziers*, which before he would never agree to, nor to that of *Carcassonne*, which he likewise at the same time obtained. But that which hurt the Earls of *Thoulouse* and of *Foix* most, was, that they caused the king of *Arragon*

to swear, that he would no more favour the *Albigenses*, but carry himself as a neuter in this war betwixt the church and them.

The Earl *Simon* having obtained his desire, that is, to alienate the King of *Aragon* from the Earls of *Thoulouse*, and of *Foix*, he took time to bend his forces both against the one and the other.

It is really a painful circumstance to observe, how often the children of God have been deceived by the cunning artifices of their enemies. See Jer. the 4th chapter.

C H A P. VIII.

Earl Simon besiegeth Thoulouse.

THE first attempt that the Earl *Simon* made, after his alliance with the King of *Aragon*, was the siege of *Thoulouse*; being strengthened with a great multitude of Pilgrims, which the Bishop of *Thoulouse* went to levy in *France*, whilst the Legate and the Earl *Simon* delayed the Earl *Raymond*, under the pretence of a treaty of peace with him. Being arrived at *Montaudran*, near to *Thoulouse*, the Earl *Raymond* made a sally out of *Thoulouse*, with five hundred horse, and a great number of foot, and came as far as the bridge, in hope to gain it, or to break it down.

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There was at that bridge a great battle, and many fell on both sides. In the end, the Earl *Raymond* sounded a retreat, whereupon the enemy took heart, passed the bridge, and pursued the Earl *Raymond*, even to the gates of *Thoulouse*; but the Earl *Raymond* returned and made so sudden and so furious attack upon them, that he beat back his enemy unto the bridge, which was not large enough to receive them; so that they were almost all slain before they were at the foot thereof. *Aimeri* the son of the said *Simon of Montfort*; was taken prisoner.

The Earl *Simon* seeing this loss, and his son taken prisoner, animated his Pilgrims to the combat. They endeavouring to be revenged of his overthrow, ran into the ditches, and set up their ladders, but they were valiantly repulsed. The ditches were filled with the dead bodies of the Pilgrims, and *Simon* was beaten from his horse. In the midst of this conflict, arrived the Earl of *Champagne*, with a great number of Pilgrims, and he came in good time to be well beaten. *Simon* commanded all to go to the spoil; whereupon the Pilgrims ran into the vineyards, orchards, and gardens, cut down all trees that bare fruit, plucked up the vines by the roots; at which time the President of *Agnes* came forth of *Thoulouse*, with a great number of the inhabitants thereof; who seeing them spoil their possessions, ran upon the Pilgrims, scattered here and there through the fields, and slew a great number of them. On the other side the Earl of *Feix* conduct-

ing some troops of horse and foot, slew as many as he met with. The Earl of *Bar* held his troops in better order, and seeing the disorder, especially of those that were flying away, he cried out, a *Bar*, a *Bar* : which the inhabitants of *Tboulouse* understanding, charged them so bravely, before any of them could gather themselves unto him, that he was defeated with the rest. The Earl *Reymond* retired his troops into *Tboulouse*, and commanded solemn thanks to be given unto God, for so admirable a victory over his enemies.

The fame of *Reymond's* victories being spread abroad, there came unto him divers succours, from all the parts round about him ; for they were all weary of the troops of the Pilgrims, and willingly offered their goods and lives to drive them out of the country. *Siman* being in some scarcity of provision, because the roads whereby they should be relieved, were stoppt, was constrained to raise his siege. And besides, the Earl of *Chalons*, the Earl of *Bar*, and certain other *German* Lords, retired themselves, their forty days being expired ; but yet he would not be altogether idle that autumn. He therefore marched into the countries of the Earl of *Fois*, to refresh the rest of his army, and to possess himself of some places. He went as far as the town of *Fois*, seiz'd all that was about it, and then set fire to the town. Being at *Pamiers*, the Legate took the one half of the army to accompany him

him to *Roquemaure*, where he went to pass the winter; and in his way he took the tower of *Cassas*, and about one hundred men therein, and caused them all to be burnt alive; and laid the place level with the ground. In the mean time the Earl *Simon* ravaged the territories of the Earl of *Foix*, as long as the said Earl kept his bed, being visited with a grievous sickness. Being recovered of his sickness, and understanding what havoc the Earl *Simon* had made of his houses, and what ruin his subjects had endured, he went to the army, and desired to speak with the General, and thus he delivered his mind to the following effect; That he had neither offended against the church nor state, nor had he done any thing unworthy the station or rank which he held in *France*, and challenged any man who durst face him to prove any cowardly or perfidious actions in him. Nor had he yet lost his courage, however unfavourable his affairs might appear; and wished him not to lay him under the disagreeable necessity of defending himself and his subjects to the last extremity, seeing their attack upon him was so outrageous and unjust.

The Earl *Simon* on the other side, said with a loud voice.

“ That the conquests were just and lawful: that he
 “ had his right from the Pope: that there was no o-
 “ ther purchase, but that which he won with the
 “ sword: that he had an army to answer all opposers;

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“ even

“ even the King of *Aragon*, and of strength sufficient
“ to defend himself against any attack.”

The King of *Aragon* writ to the Earl of *Foix*, that forasmuch as the Legate, and the Earl *Simon* had deceived him, in not restoring those lands and places, which they had promised him to restore ; he should no longer put any trust in them, since the intent of the Earl *Simon* was too well known. That is, that he endeavoured to make himself great and rich with the wealth of another ; under a pretence of religion, if his ambition and avarice were not staid, by the common arms of those, whom he had already spoiled of their goods ; that having begun with their neighbours, he would likewise desire to follow that course without end, the covetous desires of men being endless. That he knew very well that he did not seek his alliance, out of any desire he had to be honoured thereby ; but only to hinder him from succouring those whom he desired to strip of all they had. He likewise exhorted by letters, *Roger*, the son of the Earl of *Foix*, to fortify himself against the unjust usurpations of *Montfort*, otherwise every man would laugh at him ; that the Earl *Simon* was but weak, accompanied with a few Pilgrims, ready out of discontent to retire themselves : that he should therefore enter the field, and he should quickly find who would assist him.

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The Earl *Raymond* being much afflicted with the alienation of the King of *Arragon*, by the marriage of his son with the daughter of *Simon*, of *Montfort*, thought it necessary to endeavour to regain him, by another marriage. He offered therefore his only son and heir in marriage to a daughter of his; unto which motion, the King of *Arragon* yielded his consent.

The King of *Arragon* knowing the murmurings of *Simon*, did not fear, with open mouth, to publish his purpose to defend the Earls of *Thoulouse* and of *Foix*; the one being his brother-in-law, the other his subject; assured himself of a day, in which God would enable them, to make him repent his unjust conquests.

Simon being apprised of the threats of the King of *Arragon*, intreated him to blot out those bad impressions, which he had conceived of him, and he would make him the judge, of the difference that was betwixt him and the Earl of *Foix*. The Earl of *Foix* on the other side, intreated the King of *Arragon* to yield thereunto; who obtained of the Earl *Simon* the restitution of all his lands and territories, except *Pamiers*. Which exception, when his son *Roger* understood, he presently said, he knew very well how to recover that with his sword, which very unjustly he had taken from him by foul play, and false pretences. Whereupon he entered the field, foraged and took his measures so seasonably, with such incredible diligence, in all his exploits, that he made the army of
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the *Craft* to feel the effects of his valour. On the other side, the Earl of *Thoulouse* took the advantage of the time, to nourish those sparks of division, fought to win the love of the Earl of *Foix*, and to make between them and their allies, a league offensive and defensive, against the Earl *Simon* their common enemy; and assemble themselves at *Thoulouse*, to bind it by oath, and so they prepared themselves for the war, every one contributing according to his ability towards an action of such importance.

CH A P. IX.

The siege of Castlenau d'Arri: Simon takes divers places.

THE first exploit of this war which the confederates undertook, was the siege of *Castlenau d'Arri*, whither they marched in this order. The van was conducted by the Earl of *Foix*, and Prince *Roger* his son. The main body by *Reymond* Earl of *Thoulouse*. The rear by the prince of *Bearn*. The army was composed of fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; and besides that the city of *Thoulouse* was furnished with a good and strong garrison, and instruments of war. The Earl *Simon* put himself into *Castlenau d'Arri*. The situation of this place was good, and the castle one of the best; and there were in the city many soldiers and great captains, and great store of ammunition for a long siege. The Earl *Foix* made his approach, lodged

lodged himself near the ramparts. In the mean time the enemy sallied forth of the city, upon the van, but they were so repulsed, that divers remaining dead within the trenches, the rest retired to bethink themselves of a better course. The suburbs were taken by the besiegers. The Earl *Roger* was wounded with a stone, cast from the city by one of their engines. The Earl of *Thoulouse* encamped himself upon a little hill, right over against the castle, intrenching and environing himself with rails and barriers. The Prince of *Bèarn* lay on the other side of the city. The army of the *Albigenses* increased daily, upon a report given that the Earl *Simon* was there shut up, so great a desire had every one to see his ruin. And because there were too many of the *Albigenses* at this siege, it was thought good that the Earl *Reymond* should take a part of the army to surprise certain small holds and castles, which were somewhat anoyous to the army.

Simon saw his error in suffering himself to be inclosed within *Castlénau d'Arri*, inasmuch as he was the General, it was fit he should be at liberty, to provide for all other places depending upon his authority. He left within the place, *Guy de Lewis*, called the Marshal of Faith, and to the end he might slip out the better, he caused a sally to be made upon the besiegers, engaging certain troops, whilst he in the mean time might make his escape.

Reymond being apprised of the departure of the Earl
Simon,

Simon, was much offended therewith, more for shame, than for any ill he conceived thereof : because the report had been every where spread abroad that the General was in the Cage, and that he should not come forth but bare-headed, the halter about his neck, and begging mercy. They complained one of another. The Earl of *Foix*, that they had left him without succours, and *Reymond*, that he would put himself in to so great danger, without giving warning.

In the end they resolved to raise the siege, because of winter, and a great levy of pilgrims marching towards them, whose lives the Earl *Simon* did not greatly value ; because he had the Pope's Bull, that whosoever should lose his life in that war, should go immediately to Paradise. The Earl *Simon* was strangely puffed up with pride, making merry with that great preparation of war, altogether unprofitable to the *Albigenses*, especially that they had suffered him to make an escape, being twelve to one. Upon this retreat, they in *Castellane* would needs follow the army ; but it cost them dear. For *Roger* made a furious return upon them, killing many of them, and beating them back even to the gates of the city.

After this retreat, all the Lords of the *Albigenses* retired themselves into their quarters. The Earl of *Foix* understanding that the Earl *Simon* was gone to *Pamiers*, where he vexed his subjects, he departed from
Thoulouse

Thoulouse with two thousand men, and came to the gates of *Pamies*, offering battle to *Simon*; but he would by no means hearken thereunto, finding his Pilgrims too weak. And doubting if the spring following the *Albigenses* would take the field; he thought of nothing so much, as to strengthen the places which he held, to maintain the sieges. Among the rest, being desirous to provide for *Faniaux*, a place of great importance; *Roger* perceiving it, lay in Ambush in such a manner, that he discomfited all those that brought either victuals or ammunition.

In the mean time the Earl *Simon*, who distrusted none so much as the King of *Arragon*, caused the Legate to write unto him, that he should no more meddle with the affairs of the *Albigenses*, except he would involve himself in the same miseries with them, and include himself in the same excommunication. He likewise caused *Philip*, King of *France* to write unto him, intreating him not to favour those that were enemies to the Pope and to the church. The Legate likewise caused him to write to the Pope, touching the same matter.

These intreaties of the Pope, and the *French* King, were unto him as express commands, and therefore when the Earls of *Fois*, *Thoulouse* and *Comming*, pressed him to assist them, he told them he would do it; but it was fit he should first endeavour to obtain that by gentle and peaceable means, which by war could not be

be obtained without danger. That the Legate was in counsel with all those of his part, that he would write unto them, and that if he could not obtain what he desired by letters, he would force them by arms. He wrote therefore to the counsel, beseeching them to end these deadly wars, carried on under a pretence of religion, offering for the Earls, their obedience to the Pope and the church of *Rome*; but nevertheless they should never promise any peace before restitution was made unto the said Earls, of all their lands and goods.

The counsel *de la Vaur* in answer, gave him good words and high compliments; but took care to deny his request, vilifying those noblemen in whose behalf they had interceded.

The King of *Aragon* being much moved with this answer, sent again to the Counsel, demanding a truce for the said earls, until they had received an answer from the Pope, but it was denied.

The Earl of *Fois* was well contented, that the Counsel had yielded nothing to the requests of the King of *Aragon*, because he must have been engaged by promise for him, that he should acknowledge his tenure of the Pope and the Church of *Rome*; and which was more, seeing that the King persisted in this opinion, that such promises were to be made, to re-obtain their goods, as they could not perform; knowing that the

the King of *Aragos*, the Earl of *Thoulouse*, and *Comming*, were assembled at *Thoulouse*, to provide for affairs, he came thither ; and spake to the following effect, " That if men would quit ease and safety on land, and expose themselves on the turbulent seas for a little gain, it ill became them to submit to the ambition of men, to the displeasing the Almighty: rather than do that he was resolved to put all to the hazard."

The King of *Aragos* was much moved with this discourse of the Earl of *Feix*, wherein he laid an imputation upon him, that he was the cause of their ruin; because he had animated them against the Legate and the Earl *Simon*, and that now he left them as a prey, by procuring a peace worse than a bloody war. You have, sir, saith he, opened a door to our enemies, to tyrannize over us, if they had accepted of it, and to a glory greater than they could hope to attain by arms; for we had been all their subjects, without any other charge, than your own instant request.

For mine own part, tho' fortune deny me all means, to make opposition against a wrong that another shall offer me, yet my courage will never give way, that I should make myself the reproach of the people, or a triumph for men more unworthy than myself. This their denial of what you demanded, doth comfort me, and it upholds our honour; for we must either have broken our faith, or played the cowards like needy beggars,

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and lived a life more cruel, more intolerable, than any torment of *Phalaris*; like miserable men yielding our necks to the yoke of the enemy, and confessing ourselves beaten, sell our own liberty, and our children's after us and that for ever. Forasmuch therefore as the tempest is grown so great, and we are driven to so extreme a necessity, embrace us in your arms, to be our head, serving us for an example, a watch-tower, a conduct: So shall we engage our wills and our lives, to shew ourselves your most humble servants in time of need, and valiant soldiers when occasion shall be offered. And though I be now worn with years, yet never had I greater courage or better resolution.

The Earl *Raymond* on the other side, intreated the King of *Aragon* not to abandon their cause, offering unto him both his goods and his life, to fight under his authority.

The King of *Aragon* being overcome with these entreaties, and moved with compassion towards the afflicted, in the end took arms, and sent the following note to the Earl *Simon*, by two trumpeters. "En-
" deavour without delay to execute the will of the
" Pope, or to fight with your Lord, and if you fall
" into my hands, you shall pay for it. It is your
" duty, and I will have it so, and I rather desire it,
" than to put myself to the charge of a great army for
" your ruin." Note, *Simon* was the King of *Aragon's* vassal.

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The earl *Simon* made good use of this billet, for he sent it into divers parts of *Europe*; the Bishops and Monks now preached the Crusade against a powerful King, who had made himself the General of the *Albigenses*; and that if they were not assisted extraordinarily, the cause of the church was at an end; and therefore they entreated all good christians, especially the King of *France*, to give his best assistance in the holy wars, and extreme necessity.

On the other side the King of *Aragon* wrote to the King of *France*, that the earl *Simon* of *Montford* had a spirit puffed up with high conceit, far exceeding both his capacity and his forces. That all his intentions were no other than a colouring under the pretence of religion, and in the mean time he intended nothing so much as to be a King indeed, and *Simon* by name. He intreated the King by letters and by his agents, that he would not interppose in this war, neither on the one part, nor the other. Which request he obtained of the King, who being troubled to see his subjects continually drawn to the shambles of this war of the *Albigenses*, under a pretence of the Pope's pardon; and to see so many great Lords, his kinsmen so vexed by the earl *Simon*. When the Earl *Simon* understood, that the King of *France* was neuter, he was much afflicted therewith, having now no other recourse but to the threats of the Legate to excommunicate him; if he should proceed any farther. The Legate sent him an embassage and letters. The King of *Aragon* re-

turned this answer ; go speedily and tell your master, that I will come and see him, and give him an answer with ten thousand men, and desire him to defend himself, for I will teach him to play with his Peer.

All sides prepared for war. The Earl *Simon* sent into *France*, to the Archdeacon of *Paris*, and Master *Jaques de Vitri*, to preach the Crusade. The King of *France* would not have this levy made in his realm: yet nevertheless, there went a great number from *Auvergne*, *Normandy*, and about *Lyons*. The Pilgrims arrived before the King of *Aragon* had prepared his army, which gave great advantage to the earl *Simon*; for he came into the earldom of *Feix*, took *Tudell*; from the *Albigenses*, and slew all that he found in it, without distinction of age or sex; besieged *St. Antonin*, and took it, and caused thirty of the principal of that place to be hanged in cold blood, after he had granted them their lives; and permitted the convent of Monks which was in that place, to be ransacked. He besieged *Penes*, and received it by composition, as he did likewise *Marmande*: He seized on the castle of *Biron* near the sea; and caused *Martin Alquay* to be tied to the tail of a horse, and dragged through his army, and afterwards hanged him, because he had before delivered up the place to the earl *Reymond*. Moreover, the castle *Sarrasin* and *Agen* were yielded to him, and *Moissac* opened the gates to the soldiers of the cross, and all this did the earl *Simon*, before the King of *Aragon* or his army appeared.

CHAP.

C H A P. X.

The exploits of the Earl Simon. The King of Arragon is slain.

IN the year 1213, and the 13th of September, the King of *Arragon* with the earl *Reymond* of *Toulouse*, *Reymond* earl of *Foin*, and the earl of *Comming*, and Prince of *Bearne*, appeared in the field with their army, composed of seven thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot. They took *Muret*, a little city upon the borders of the earldom of *Foix*, seated upon *Garonne*, but they took not the castle. The earl *Simon* was of opinion; that that was the place where the army of his enemies should waste and spend itself, because the castle was good and strong, and that if he made resistance for some time, it would of itself be scattered and overthrown. He therefore put himself into that castle, with a small number of his most expert and valiant soldiers, and furnished it with ammunition, and gave by his presence such assurance unto the besieged, that they thought themselves invincible, of such power is the good opinion that the soldiers have of their General, to confirm those that are most weak.

There were some who began to consider the proceedings of the King of *Arragon*, in that he would not accept of a composition so advantageous for him-

self and the Lords of the *Albigenses*, as the Earl *Simon* had offered him, when he saw the inequality of their forces. For the Earl *Simon* had not above seven hundred men on foot, and five hundred horse. It is not good to assault a man, that hath no hope to escape but by arms; for there is not a more violent school-mistress than necessity. But the King of *Aragon* thought it no time to smooth and to flatter, after so many insolent bravadoes against his Lord.

Having these insolent speeches engraven in his memory, he thought him unworthy of any grace or favour in this his weakness, especially imagining that this his submission might only be to avoid this dangerous shock, and afterwards be more insolent than before; and as at other times when he was followed by a hundred thousand men, it was his manner always to scoff at the Earl of *Thoulouse*, and of *Fain*, and that it was therefore great weakness not to return like for like: that he would afterwards mock them, if they should have compassion on him that never had pity on any.

The King of *Aragon* therefore thought it was fit he should take advantage against a man so malicious and so insolent. But none can promise himself the victory, but the eternal, who is the God of war; for neither the number of men, nor the equipage, can give the victory, but only God, who many times maketh his power to appear in the weakest of men.

Their armies were ranged in this manner. The Earl

Earl of *Foix*, and his son *Roger*, led the van of the army of the King of *Arragon*, consisting of three thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, bowmen, and pikemen, which were the surest arms in those times. The Earl *Raymond of Thoulouse*, commanded the battle, assisted by the Earl of *Comming*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, wherein there were above four thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, without any rear.

The van of the earl *Simon* was conducted by *Guy de Louis*, Marshal of the Faith, consisting of five hundred horse, and three hundred foot. The Earl was in the battle, with a thousand horse, and four hundred men on foot, almost all *French*, without any rear.

The King of *Arragon* exposed his person too much at the head of his army; which was thought to be a great oversight, because the General of an army must not carry himself like a captain of a company, for in the loss of him, consists the loss of the battle, and the country which he defends; but he must keep himself in the heart of the army, to direct by his judgment, as occasions fall out, the whole body of the army, which is not to stir but by his command and direction. The earl *Simon* quite contrary, came down from the castle of *Muret* with a slow pace, shut up, as it were, and in good order: The King of *Arragon* seeing him, thought he came rather to cast himself down at his feet, than to fight. The King of *Arragon* had lodged his army in a place very advantageous and
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favourable. They joined battle, and presently the van of the Earl *Simon* was almost cut to pieces, and it went so ill with him and his, that it seemed unto him, that was the place whither God had called him, to pay with usury, for all his former cruelties and infolencies, to his own shame; when the King of *Arragon* at the head of his van approached for his own ruin and destruction; for being come near an ambush of four hundred Arquebusiere, which the Earl *Simon* had placed in certain old decayed houses, he was wounded to death, and fell from his horse. Whereupon they fell presently into such disorder and astonishment, that the earls *Raymond* of *Tboulouse*, of *Pois* and *Comming*, could not stay this cowardly army, but were forced to follow the track, and commit themselves to the hazard of this shameful retreat, flying directly to *Tboulouse*. The Earl *Simon* taking the advantage of his victory, and following the chase, even to the gates of *Thoulouse*, slew so many men in this days fight, that himself was moved with compassion, grieving for the hard fate of his Lord, the King of *Arragon*; and causing a search to be made among the dead, commanded him to be interred, not in the ground which they call holy, because he was excommunicated, but in a field near *St. Granies*.

The History of *Languedoc* saith, that they got the advantage, because they had received the benediction from the Bishops, and had adored the wood of the true Cross in the hands of the Bishop of *Tboulouse*.

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On the other side, the *Albigenses* acknowledged, that they saw herein an extraordinary proof of the judgment of God, in that the King of *Arragon* attributed at that time, more to his own power and providence, than the help and succours of the eternal God. But yet for all this they lost not their courage, though they had lost in this battle, fifteen thousand men; neither did they despair of the justice and goodness of their cause, it not being the first army that had been beat in a just quarrel, nor the first bad cause, that had been maintained with victory. Thus four hundred thousand men of *Israel*, were beaten by twenty-six thousand of the children of *Benjamin*, who maintained a bad cause, and slew in two battles, two and forty thousand men. *Judges* 20. So the *Philistians*, being Idolaters, got the better in two battles against the *Israelites*, and slew of them, thirty-four thousand men, and took the Ark of God. And *Josiah* who was zealous of the service of God, received his deadly blow fighting against the King of *Egypt* at *Megiddo*. So King *Jehu*, having an army of sixty thousand men, was defeated and taken prisoner, by the Prince of *Wales*, who had not above eight thousand men.

The war of the *Albigenses* increased; for the Earl *Simon* thought it was necessary he should pursue his enemies, being half dead and overthrown, and the *Albigenses* for their part, knew that they must of necessity defend themselves, or be vanquished and brought into bondage.

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

Pope Innocent the third sent Bonaventure, against the Albigenses.

SIMON being puffed up with this victory, sent one to summon the Earls of *Thoulouse*, *Foix*, and *Comming*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, to deliver unto him the keys of those cities and castles that they possessed, and that they should subscribe to what it pleased the Legate to dictate, or miserably perish.

He received no answer, but every one betook himself to his own territories, there to provide the best they could possibly for their affairs. The Earl *Raymond* retired himself to *Mountauban*, and wrote to those of *Thoulouse*, that he understood, that *Radolph* the Bishop of *Arras* was coming with a great number of Pilgrims; therefore, forasmuch as he saw, that they had no means to defend the city, against so great a force, that they should treat with *Simon*, until God should give means, to free them from those miseries wherein they were plunged, by the insatiable avarice of their common enemy. In the mean time, he, the Earls of *Foix*, *Comming*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, did their best to trouble and to infect the enemy's armies, with all the power they could for their common good. The city of *Thoulouse* deputed six of the principal men of the city, to offer *Simon* the keys of *Thoulouse*. He received

ceived them honorably, but commanded them not to depart without his permission. In the mean time he wrote to *Lewis* the son of King *Philip*, that since the battle of *Muret*, they of *Thoulouse* offered to yield themselves unto him, but his desire was, that he should have the praise of that conquest, being worthy of himself. *Philip* his father would not heretofore permit, that he should war against the Albigenes, because he had promised the King of Arragon, to carry himself as a neuter betwixt both; but now hearing of the death of the King of Arragon, he suffered him to go. The Prince being at *Thoulouse*, the city was delivered into his hands, and presently the Legate, having assembled the Bishops of his rank, it was concluded that the pillage should be granted to the Pilgrims, that the city should be dismantled, the castle of *Narbonne* excepted; which was immediately executed, contrary to the promise which had been given them, that nothing should be altered within the city. This good use did the Earl *Simon* make of the presence and forces of Prince *Lewis*, for otherwise he durst not have sacked and dismantled this goodly and great city, without the indangering of his fortune, were his forces ever so great.

At this time arrived *Bonaventure*, the Pope's new Legate, and those that took on them the cross, namely, the Bishop of *Beauvois*, the Earl of *St. Paul*, the Earl of *Savoy*, the Earl of *Alencon*, Viscount of *Melun*,
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Matthew de Montmorenci, and other great Lords that accompanied him. The Legate seeing so many Pilgrims, began to fear lest Prince *Lewis* should dispose of divers places which the Albigenſes held, to the prejudice of the Pope's authority, under whose name all those conquests were made; for the avoiding whereof he ſent unto all those places that held for the ſaid Albigenſes, the abſolution and ſafeguard of the church, in ſuch ſort that the Prince thinking to make an aſſault upon any of them, they produced their abſolution, and ſhewed that they were under the protection of the church. And this Legate grew ſo audacious as to tell Prince *Lewis*, that ſince he was become a ſoldier of the croſs, he was ſubject to his command, becauſe he did repreſent the perſon of the Pope, whoſe pardon he was come to obtain, by obeying the church, not by commanding as the ſon of a King; reproaching him beſides, that the King his father did not contribute to the extirpation of the Albigenſes, when there was an opportunity: but now, after thoſe victories miraculoſly obtained, he came to glean the ears of that glory, which were due unto thoſe only who had ſpent their lives for the church. The Prince diſſembled this audacious boldneſs. *Narbonne* was diſmantled by the agreement of the ſaid Prince, which neither the Legate nor the Earl *Simon*, would not have dared without his preſence. The Biſhop of *Narbonne* did what he could, to hinder the diſmantling of it, affirming it did much import, that a place in the frontiers

frontiers of *Spain* should be preserved with the walls and ramparts thereof: but *Simon* and the Legate were very instant to the contrary, and they obtained their desire.

Here endeth the good fortune of the Earl *Simon*; for in the end of this levy of Pilgrims which Prince *Lewis* brought with him, he had enough to do to defend himself from blows; notwithstanding the *Albigenses* were also wearied with continual wars, and visited from time to time with new expeditions.

C H A P. XII.

The war is renewed against the Earl of Foix.

PRINCE *Lewis*, son of *Philip* King of *France*, retired, his forty days being expired, with much discontent, to see in those wars against the *Albigenses*, so much tyranny. The Earl *Simon* besieged the castle of *Foix*, but with great loss; for there died before it many gallant men. Having lain before the city ten days, he raised the siege, finding to his great cost that the place was impregnable. His brother kept his quarter at *Varilles*: but the Earl of *Foix* dislodged him, and slew him with his lance, and put to flight his whole troop. This was a counterpoise to *Montfort's* prosperity, which had made him over insolent. And as one unhappy chance comes seldom

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seldom alone, even then when he did gnash his teeth
 against the Earl of *Foix*, swearing that he would make
 him fly over the *Preney* mountains; a messenger brought
 him tidings of the arrival in the Earldom of *Beziers*,
 and about *Carcassonne*, of divers troops of *Arragonians*,
 and *Catalans*, who put all they met to sword and fire,
 saying, that they would revenge the death of their
 good King *Alphonfus*. He was therefore advertised,
 that if he did not immediately succour them, the whole
 country would be lost. He departed therefore from
Foix with great diligence. The Earl of *Foix* who
 knew the streights and bye-ways of his country better
 than he, stopped his passage, and lay in ambush for
 him in a place so fitting for his purpose, that he
 slew a great part of his troops, without any alarm.
 He saved himself with a few of his people. Being come
 to *Carcassonne*, it was well for him, that he found not
 a man to speak a word unto; for the *Arragonians* had
 retired themselves; whereas, had they attended his
 coming, they might easily have destroyed him, con-
 sidering the small number that were with him. At
 this very time, other letters were brought unto him,
 whereby he was called into *Dauphiny*, where *Ademar*
 of *Poitiers*, and *Ponce* of *Monlaur*, obstructed the pas-
 sage of the Pilgrims, who came down by the river
Rhosne, and were conducted by the Archbishops of
Lyons, and *Vienne*. Likewise the cities of *Montiel-*
amar and *Crest Arnaud*, took part with the *Albigenses*,
 and were a great hindrance to the Pilgrims. *Simon*
 came

came to a treaty with *Ademar* and *Monlaur*, not having power to encounter so many enemies.

The *Arragónians* also were returned about *Carcaffonne*; and thither he came and was well beaten; insomuch that he was constrained to shut up himself within *Carcaffonne*, not being able to keep the field, before he had new supply of Pilgrims to succour him. Seeing at the last that he had got nothing of the Earl of *Foix* by arms, he had recourse to his ordinary wiles and subtilties, hoping to work his ruin, under a pretence of amity. He caused therefore the Legate *Bonaventure* to write unto him, that he had compassion on him, for that he was so obstinate in so great a war to his great charge, and the loss of the blood of his subjects; which he might end in a short time, by taking a journey to *Rome*, and declaring his innocency to the Pope; that he would give him his best assistance as far as he possibly could, to procure the restitution of all his lands. But yet it was very necessary that the church should have some pledges of his fidelity; that is, that he should deliver into his hands the castle of *Foix*, the only means to take away all shadow of false play, and that immediately after his return, it should be restored unto him with the rest of his houses.

He delivered unto him the castle of *Foix*, and took his journey to *Rome*: but if he went a fool thither, a fool he returned. For the Legate had written to the

Pope, that the Earl of *Fois* was the most dangerous Heretick that was amongst the *Albigenses*; a man of great courage, and most to be feared: that if he were subdued, the Earl of *Thoulouse* would be much weakened; that he obtained by fair words those places, which the church would never have got by arms, namely, the castle of *Fois*, and that they were to take heed that they made no restitution of his lands, which if they did, it would be impossible that the church should ever ruin the *Albigenses*. The Pope was prodigal of his crosses, his bulls, and his words; but in effect he commanded his Legate, that he should not restore unto him those places, until he had given proofs of his obedience and justification. Presently upon his return he addressed himself to the Legate, to fulfil his fair promises. The Legate gave him to understand, that his hands were bound by the Pope, because there were some clauses in his bulls that bound him to a new proceeding; but yet he should assure himself of his affection, and that he must not blame him, if he received not full satisfaction, and that he would do his best to make friendship betwixt the Earl *Simon* and himself. The Earl *Fois* now saw his error, and blamed himself exceedingly, for being again outwitted by a crafty priest. The earl of *Thoulouse*, and the king of *Arragon*, resolved to make a levy of their subjects, and presently to build a fort at *Montgranier*, a place very strong by nature. In a few days they made it a place of defence by the means and labours of their poor subjects, who bewailing

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ing their own miseries and their Lords, travelled day and night very willingly, to bring the work to an end. This place being built, he put therein a garrison, and left there his son *Roger*. Earl *Simon* besieged it, and in the end took it by famine. The composition was, that *Roger* should not bear arms for one whole year against the church. An article that troubled much this valiant Lord. For he withdrew himself for the same year into a house, where he counted the months and the days, till the time was expired wherein he might die valiantly in fighting, or vanquish his enemies. And to this purpose he many times conferred with the son of the King of *Aragon* lately slain, how he might carry himself to find a means to revenge his father's death.

The Legate *Bonaventure* in the mean time, used the same craft with the Earl *Reynold*; he persuaded him to go to *Rome*, to determine his affairs with the Pope more peaceably, than with Earl *Simon*, especially because he was charged with the death of his own brother, the Earl *Baudoin*, taken in the castle *d'Olmé*, in the country of *Cabors*, because he had there borne arms against him.

The son of the Earl of *Thoulouse*, named also *Reymond*, understanding that his father was to take his journey to *Rome*, he went with letters from his uncle John, the King of *England*; to the Pope, intreating him to do justice to his brother-in-law. The young

Lord had been brought up until then in *England*, where he could no longer spend time, seeing his father oppressed with wars and continual labours; he therefore resolved to exert himself for his deliverance, either by composition or by arms. The cause of the Earl *Reymond* was debated before the Pope. There was a Cardinal that maintained, that great wrong had been offered those Lords, who had many times given of their best lands to the church, to witness their obedience. The Abbot of St. *Uberi* also took their part, with great courage and resolution. The Earl *Reymond* likewise defended his own cause, charging the Bishop of *Thoulouse*, with many outrages, and that if he had been constrained to defend himself, he must accuse those that had driven him to that necessity, for if he had not made resistance, he had long ago been utterly ruined. That the Bishop of *Thoulouse* had many times taken the fairest of his revenues; and being never satisfied, did still continue to vex him, parting his goods with the Earl *Simon* of *Montfort*; and that their avarice alone had been the cause of the death of ten thousand men of *Thoulouse*, and of the pillage of that fair and great city, a loss which could never be repaired. The charter of *Lyons* did also shew the Pope, that the Bishop of *Thoulouse* had always kindled the fire, and warmed himself at the flame.

Reymond of *Roquesvil* of the country of *Querci*, related many villanies committed by the said Earl of *Montfort*;

Montfort; beginning with that which had been done against the Earl of *Beziers*, whom he caused miserably to perish in prison; invaded his lands, and ruined his subjects; and so proceeded to all that had passed against the other Lords, who were constrained to defend themselves against his violences.

The Pope was much moved with these outrages, and would willingly have done some justice, but that it was told him, that if he should cause the Earl of *Montfort* to make restitution, of that which was taken for the service of the Church, that he should not from henceforward, find any that would fight either for the Pope or the Church.

He turned over these affairs to the Legate, commanding him in general terms, to restore the lands to all those that shewed themselves faithful to the Church; and as touching the son of the Earl *Reymond*, his pleasure was, that the land which the Earl *Reymond* had in *Province*, that is to say, The Earldom of *Venisse* should be reserved either in part or all for the maintenance of his son, provided that he gave good and assured testimonies of his loyalty and good conversation, shewing himself worthy of divine mercy.

They being returned, demanded of the Legate the execution of their Bulls, requiring the restitution of their lands. The Legate answered, that he had certain restraints, for the determining whereof there required

some time; therefore they should in the mean time shew fruits worthy their amendment, and then they should receive what the Pope had decreed, otherwise not.

When the Earls saw how they were deluded, they resolved to come to blows.

CHAP. XIII.

*Reymond the son of the Earl Reymond took Beaucaire:
Simon of Montfort is slain.*

THE first exploits of *Reymond*, the son of the Earl of *Reymond*, was the taking of *Beaucaire*, where he made himself master of the city: afterwards having almost famished those in the castle, the Earl *Simon* being no way able to succour them, made a composition for those that were within it, that is, that they should depart, only carrying with them their baggage and necessary furniture. The Earl *Simon* lost at that place, a hundred gentlemen, whom he had laid in ambush, near the city, they within perceiving, made a sally, and cut them in pieces. The young Earl *Reymond* won great honour at this siege, and gave the Earl *Simon* to understand, that his son *Aimeri* should find in this young Lord, a thorn in his foot, that should make him smart as much, as in his time he had given cause of trouble and vexation to his father.

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The Earl *Montfort* went from hence to ravage and make spoil at *Thoulouse*. The Bishop was gone thither before, and told the consul and principal of the city, that they were to make their appearance before the Earl *Simon*. They went to him, but to their great loss, for they were no sooner come before the Earl, but he commanded them all to be bound with cords; whereof some taking notice, that had means to escape to the city, an alarm was given within the city, so hot, that before his arrival all the people were in arms: but being entered by the castle *Narbonne*, they recovered certain towers which were yet remaining, and put themselves into certain places, and having already begun to pillage near the castle *Narbonne*, the people fortified themselves, and gave the chase with such violence, that they drove them to the castle of *Narbonne*. The Earl *Guy* came upon the very instant of this combat, to the succour of his brother the Earl *Simon*, but after he had fought a while, he was fain in the end to fly to his brother. A great part of the people of the Earl *Simon* were forced to retire themselves to *St. Stevens*, and the tower of *Mascaro*, and the Bishop's house, where a great number were slain. The Bishop, who knew that he had been the cause of this misfortune, having counselled the citizens to make their appearance before the Earl *Simon*, and the Earl *Simon* to seize upon them, went forth of the castle *Narbonne* into the streets, crying out unto the people to make themselves easy, for the Earl determined to end these differences with mildness and gentleness, and that

that they should not refuse the ways of peace. He alledged so many reasons unto them, that in the end they gave ear unto him, and were willing to hearken to reconciliation, seeing themselves dismantled and brought under the subjection of a castle and strong garrison; and knowing too well, that at the first succours of pilgrims their city would be exposed to pillage. When they were to know the conditions of their peace, the first article was, That the Earl *Simon* would yield to nothing, before all the inhabitants had carried their arms to the Town-house. This point was hardly obtained, but at last they yielded; which being done, the Earl *Simon* caused his people to make an approach, and so seizing on the Town-house against a people disarmed, and having conveyed their armour to the castle *Narbonne*, he imprisoned the principal men of the city, and caused them to be sent out of *Thoulouse* whither he thought good, and with such inhuman cruelties, that a great number died by the way. Thus was *Thoulouse* dispeopled of its principal inhabitants, and the rest put to their ransom, whereby the Earl *Simon* did greatly enrich himself. And shortly after returning from the country of *Bigorre*, where he could not take the castle *Lourde*, he discharged his fury upon this poor city, permitting it to be pillaged by his pilgrims, and then caused the rest of the towers that were yet about the city, to be beaten down.

In the mean time, the poor Earl of *Thoulouse* was at *Mountauban*, who understanding the bad usage of his miserable

miserable subjects, for certain months could not but bewail their lamentable state with sighs and tears.

At this time, that is, in the year 1214, the Legate held a Council at *Montpelier*, for the renewing of the army of the Church, and to confirm the authority of the Earl *Simon*.

The Council sent to him to come and receive the dignity of Prince and Monarch. He entered into the city, and being in the church of our Lady *des Tables*, where the Prelates of the said Council were to pronounce their sentence in favour of the said *Montfort*, they heard a rumor in the city. They sent to know what the matter was: It was told them, that the people understood, that the Earl *Simon* of *Montfort* was within the city, and that thereupon they betook themselves to their arms, resolving to kill him, as being their chief enemy. He was advised to steal away along by the walls of the city, and to save himself, for fear lest the whole Council should suffer with him. He went therefore on foot, without company, lest he should have been known at the gate, and escaped this great danger. So that he saw himself in one hour honoured almost as a God, chosen and saluted Prince and Monarch, and obliged to fly disguised, and to hide himself like a base scoundrel, for fear of the people.

In regard of the resolution of this Council, the Pope ever wrote to him, as to a Monarch, styling him,
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The active, dexterious soldier of Jesus Christ. The invincible defender of the Catholic Faith. And in the year 1215, he sent him a Bull, dated the fourth of April, by which he gave him the authority to keep all those lands he had gotten under his power, granting unto him the revenues, profits, and power to administer justice, considering, saith the Pope, that you neither can, nor ought to make war at your own charge. This the Pope's bounty of another man's purse, in a business where he had nothing to give, made him to go to the King of *France*, to be invested into the Dukedom of *Narbonne*, the Earldom of *Tboulouse*, together with all the lands, which the soldiers of the Cross had conquered and taken from those they call Hereticks, or the protectors of them, which he obtained of the King to hold in fee.

In the year 1216, he returned from *France* with an hundred Bishops, who had caused this expedition of the Cross to be preached in their Bishopricks, being resolved with this great army, to make himself Master, Prince and Monarch, of all those lands which the Pope had given him. And to make it apparant, that he had not treated or made any agreement with *Guitaud* Lord of *Monteil-Aimar*, nor with *Aimar* of *Poitiers*, but until such time as he had power to devour them; he passed the *Rhosne* at *Viniers*, and besieged *Monteil-Aimar*. *Guitaud* made great resistance; but when the inhabitants saw the great army of pilgrims, they entreated their Lord to come to composition, for fear
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lest the city should be pillaged. Which he did, though it was with the loss of his castle. From thence he went and besieged the tower of *Crest-Armaud*, belonging to *Aimar of Poitiers*. He that commanded within, yielded it up out of cowardice, for otherwise it had been impossible the pilgrims could have taken it. Afterwards the Earl *Simon* gave a daughter of his to a son of the said *Poitiers*, and there was peace concluded betwixt the said *Poitiers* and the Bishop of *Valence*, against whom he had a long time before made cruel war. A little before, the Earl *Simon* had married one of his sons to the daughter of *Dauphin* of *Viennais*, and another to the Countess of *Bigorre*. All which alliances fortified him much against his enemies. All men trembled before him, and with this great army of pilgrims that followed him, he took *Pesquieres* near to *Nysme*, and *Bexonce*, and put all to the sword he found within, not sparing the women. He took his way to *Thoulouse*, to pillage and to raze it, and to seek the Earl of *Thoulouse*, even to the centre of the earth, if he were there to be found; at which time he received letters from his wife, advertising him, that he should speedily come to deliver her from the hands of the Earl of *Thoulouse*, who had besieged her in the castle *Narbonne*; that he was very strong and had all the people at his devotion, who had received him with great applause, crying out with a loud voice, Long live the Earl of *Thoulouse*. That he was accompanied with his Nephew, the Earl of *Comming*, *Gaspard de la Barre*, Lord of *Caraman*, *Armand de*
A a *Montagu*,

Montagu, and *Estephe de la Valette*, all brave and valiant men, and well attended.

This was about the end of the year 1217, that the Earl *Reymond* entered into *Thoulouse*, the drums beating, the ensigns displayed, and the trumpets sounding. The people pressing to cast themselves down at his feet, to embrace his legs, and to kiss the hem of his garment, and killing as many as they found in the city, that took part with the Earl *Montfort*. Whereas, had the Earl *Simon* come directly to *Montauban*, at his return from *France*, the Earl *Reymond* would not have known what to have done; but he stayed at *Monteil-Aimar* and *Crest Arnaud*, and *Befince*, and *Pasquieres*, and made delays about the marriages so long, that the Earl had time to gather his troops together, and to prepare himself for a strong assault. In such sort, that when he was advertised that he was at *Thoulouse*, the greater part of his pilgrims were returned into *France*. But yet it was necessary he should go to *Thoulouse* with those forces that he had: for his wife was in danger of being lost. And he that had been the death of so many women and children, was doubtful what would become of his, falling into the hands of his enemies.

The Earl *Reymond* created an officer, which they called *Vignier*, or *Pravest*, to whom all were bound to obey, upon pain of death. This was the first *Vignier* that was established at *Thoulouse*. His charge was to provide for the defence of the city, to keep the moats
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or ditches clean, to repair the breaches, to appoint to every one his quarter, and his captain, especially in times of combat. There came from all parts, troops for succours to the Earl *Reymond*, of those that desired satisfaction for the violences of the Earl *Simon*.

The Earl *Guy* was one of the first in the combat, for his brother the Earl *Simon*, but he was beaten and put to flight: The Archbishop of *Aix*, and of *Armagnac*, with their pilgrims retired themselves without fighting. The Earl *Simon* being come, made a shew of besieging *Thoulouse*; but the frequent issues of those that were within, gave him to understand, that it was not for his good. He therefore assembled the Prelates and Lords, to take advice what was to be done. The Legate perceiving the Earl *Simon* somewhat astonished, said unto him. "Fear nothing, for
 " in a short time we shall recover the city; and destroy
 " all the inhabitants; and if any of the soldiers of
 " the Cross shall die in this pursuit, they shall pass to
 " Paradise as Martyrs, and hereof they shall assure
 " themselves." To whom one of the great captains answered, "Monsieur Cardinal, you talk with great
 " assurance; but if the Earl believe you, it will be
 " little to his profit. For you, and all the other
 " Prelates, and men of the Church, have been the
 " cause of all this evil and ruin, and will be yet more
 " if he believe you."

It was no time for the Cardinal to be offended with

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this bold reply. The resolution was, that there should be no more any assault given, but that the city should be besieged on the side of *Gascoign*. For which cause the Earl of *Montfort* caused one part of his army to pass the river *Garonne*, towards *St. Soubra*; but they within the city made so noble a sally, and to such purpose, that they put their enemies to flight. During this combat, came the Earl of *Foix* with his fresh troops, as well of his subjects, as *Navareans* and *Catalans*, who violently set upon the Earl *Montfort*, pursuing him even to the brink of *Garonne*; where with fright and precipitation, they cast themselves in heaps into the boats, and many were drowned in the river. The Earl *Simon* also fell in, all armed, with his horse, and hardly escaped.

Reymond caused a general assembly to be made at *St. Saurin*, wherein he exhorted the people to give thanks unto God for this happy beginning of victory, which they had obtained against their enemies, which was a testimony of God's love, and that they should hope for better. He exhorted every one to give their helping-hand to build and to prepare, and to cause their warlike engines to play against the castle *Narbonne*, because this place being taken from the enemy, their total ruin must needs follow; and being once recovered from them, they should be in safety. In a very short time were their wooden engines to cast stones, their slings, their mangonels to dart their arrows, their cross bows and other instruments which were in use in those

those times prepared, and all of them mounted against the castle *Narbonne*; which made those tremble that were within.

The Earl *Montfort* being at *Montolieu*, took counsel how to carry himself in this tedious siege, and against enemies so animated. The Bishop of *Thoulouse* said unto him, to comfort him, that he was to take a good heart unto him, for Monsieur the Cardinal had sent letters and messengers throughout the world, to give him succours; and that shortly he should have so many people, that he should not want power to do what he pleased.

After many combats, the winter came on, and stayed the course of the besiegers, who withdrawing themselves to quarters where they could about *Thoulouse*; and the Earl *Reymond* on the other side, inclosed the city with a rampart, and fortified himself against the castle *Narbonne*, and prepared to receive the pilgrims whensoever they should present themselves unto him. In the mean time he sent his son to seek for succours. In the end, about the spring time, in the year 1218; there came to the Earl *Simon*, an hundred thousand soldiers of the Cross, and to the Earl *Reymond*, great succours from *Gascoign*, conducted by *Narcis de Montequiou*. As also young *Reymond* of *Thoulouse*, and *Willemur* brought unto him goodly troops. This great multitude of pilgrims being come, the Legate and *Simon* thought good they should earn their pardon,

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knowing that at the end of forty days, this great ~~cloud~~ of pilgrims would vanish. They therefore commanded them, instantly to give a general assault, which was deferred to the next morning, by which time they had other work to do; for the very first night of their arrival, putting their confidence in their great multitude, they kept no good guard. Which the Earl of *Thoulouse* perceiving, made a sally out upon them, and that with so good success, that the next morning all the field was covered with dead bodies. The *Thoulousians* being weary with killing, returned to give thanks unto God for his assistance.

The whole country was an enemy to the earl *Simon*, which was the cause of the famine in his army; but on the contrary, there was within *Thoulouse* abundance. Upon St. *John the Baptist's* eve, betimes in the morning, the troops of the Earl *Reymond* went forth of *Thoulouse*, killing as many as they encountered. A soldier ran to the Earl *Simon*, and told him, that the enemy was come forth; divers others came unto him, crying out, We are all undone, if no man will come out and command the army which flies before the *Thoulousians*. He answered, that he would not stir a foot from the Mass, though he were there to die, before he had seen his Maker; insomuch, that had not the Priest that sung the Mass, clipt and curtailed it a little, he had been taken or slain before the Altar. *Noguiers* saith, the Earl *Simon* having mounted his horse, his horse which was wounded in the middle of his head with

with an arrow, which the horse feeling, got presently the bit between his teeth, in such sort, that *Montfort*, could not hold him, but he carried him here and there in spite of himself, which a soldier of the city seeing, assured himself of him, shot him with his cross bow through the thigh; with which wound *Montfort* lost great store of blood, and finding himself much pained therewith, entreated the Earl *Guy* his brother, to lead him out of the press, to stop his blood. In the time while he was talking with his brother, a stone out of an engine, which a woman, thinking nothing let fly, hit *Montfort*, yet talking with his brother, and parted his head from his shoulders, so that his body fell dead to the ground.

Noguiers, a Historian of those times, hath spoken of this man, as of one that was carried away with passion and unsatiable covetousness. He was slain that very instant, when by three Councils, he had been proclaimed the Monarch of his conquests, the captain of the armies of the Church, the son, the servant, the favourite thereof, and the defender of the faith. Adored of the people, feared of the great, the terror of kings. Thus you see, that as *Abimelech*,* was slain with a piece of a mill-stone, which a woman cast from a tower, which brake his skull; so this destroyer of the people, ruiner of cities, devourer of the estates of other men, was slain with a stone from a sling, by a woman, as Historians have observed.

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* Judges xix. 53.

The Legate *Bonaventure* had only time to tell *Almaric*, son of *Montfort*, that he was named by him and the Bishops there present, Successor of the conquests and charges of his father the Earl *Simon*; and instantly they betook them to their heels, flying with all the Bishops of the Cross, to *Carcaffonne*, not staying in any place, so great was their astonishment, fearing to be pursued. The pilgrims disbanded themselves, saying they were no longer bound to any fight, their forty days being almost expired. In the time of this confusion, the Earl *Reymond* sallied out of *Tboulouse*, and gave so furious a charge upon the enemy that he made them forsake their trenches, and slew a great number of pilgrims, who were without conduct, and without courage, insomuch that they killed and cut in pieces all that were in the camp of *Montelieu*, and destroyed those that were incamped at *St. Sobra*. There remained the castle *Narbonne*, which as yet held for the Legate. The son of *Montfort* gathered as speedily as he could, as many of his troops together as he was able, and making haste to the castle, got out the garrison by a false door; and so fled after the Legate, carrying the body of his father with great speed to *Carcaffonne*. And it was well for him, that the Earl *Reymond* did not pursue him, for the fear thereof was sufficient to kill the pilgrims that accompanied him. But the Earl *Reymond* retired himself with his troops, to provide for the preservation of the city and castle *Narbonne*, to which the enemy had set fire when they left it. Moreover, he caused the bell
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to toll, to gather the people together, to give thanks unto God in their church, for the happy and miraculous victory which they had obtained; for that this audacious tyrant was overthrown, who had exposed them many times to pillage, raised their walls, beaten down their ramparts, destroyed their towers, violated their wives and daughters; killed their citizens, cut down their trees, spoiled their land, and brought their whole country to extreme desolation.

C H A P. XIV.

The Earl Reymond recovereth all that the Earl Simon had taken from him in Agenois.

THE Earl *Reymond* followed the victory, making himself master of the castle of *Narbonne*, and fortifying it against the pilgrims, which he knew very well would come the year following: in the mean time he sent his son into *Agenois*, who brought unto the obedience of his father, *Condon*, *Marmande*, *Augilhan*, and other places adjoining. On the other side, the Earl of *Foix* besieged *Mirepoix*, summoned *Roger de Leni* to restore it unto him, telling him, that he was not now to hope any longer in the Earl *Simon*, for he was dead: That it must satisfy him, that he had now long enough and unjustly kept that which was his. That if he changed his patience into fury, he would lose both his life and *Mirepoix* together. It vexed

ing the word given, they should all die. It was the will of Prince *Lewis*, that the composition should stand. *Almaric* nevertheless, caused his troops to slip into the city, with charge to kill all, men, women and children. They did it, whereat the Prince being offended, departed from the Legate and *Almaric*, and passing along, summoned those of *Thoudouse* to yield. They defended themselves against him. He received news of the death of his father, which caused him to retire. Thus you see all the effects of this great expedition, which should have buried all the *Albigenses* alive, vanished without any assault given.

The Legate *Bonaventure*, being weary of the long labours of this war, and perceiving that therein the danger was greater, than either the pleasure or the profit, took occasion under a pretence of his decrepit age, to retire himself to *Rome*; even at that time, when Pope *Innocent* the third, departed. Pope *Honorius*, his successor, knew neither the importance of the war, nor what direction to give, and therefore had need to be informed by his Legate, touching the means of the continuance thereof, and the commodity that might arise unto his see. *Bonaventure* entreated him to depute another Legate, and told him, that the necessity of this war was such, that it concerned not only the loss of all those lands of the *Albigenses*, which were conquered, because they might easily be recovered by them, if no opposition were made; but also the ruin of the church of *Rome*, because the doctrine of the

the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, did directly shake the authority of the Pope, and overthrow the statutes of the Church: That this war had been very chargeable, for within the space of fifteen years and less, there had died above three hundred thousand soldiers of the Cross, who at divers times had come to end their lives in *Languedoc*, as if there were not enough elsewhere to bury them: or as if there were a necessity in those times, to be born in *France*, and to die encountering the *Albigenses*. That all this would be lost, if they continued not to spend and weaken them, until they were utterly destroyed. The Pope delegated one named *Contat*, who went thither.

Almaric was very valiant, yet he had not obtained that authority which his father had; who had made himself, at the expence of the *Albigenses*, a great captain; loved of the soldiers, of great courage, patient in affliction, invincible in his travels, diligent in his enterprises, foreseeing and providing, for the necessities of an army; affable, but of an irreconcilable enmity against his enemies, because he hated them only to possess their goods; and these he could not have but after their death, which he procured and hastened as much as he possibly could, and that under the mantle of a plausible pretence of religion. His son was a true inheritor of the hatred of his father; but slow and sluggish, loving his ease, and no way fit for an action of great importance. Besides, he was deprived of the Monk *Dominic*, of whom his father had made

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very profitable use : for lodging him in the conquered cities, he gave him in charge to finish that destruction by his inquisition, which he could not do by wars. He died in the year 1220, the sixth of August, so rich that notwithstanding he was the founder of the *Jacobin Monks*, an order of begging Friars, yet he made it known before his death, that a scrip well ordered was better than a rent ill assigned ; for he left many houses and much goods, shewing thereby that he used his scrip but for a shew and appearance of poverty.

The death of this Monk was a great relief to the *Albigenses*, seeing he had persecuted them with much violence ; but yet they were more weakened by the death of the Earl *Reymond* of *Thoulouse*, the Earl *Reymond* of *Foix*, and the Lady *Philippe* of *Moncade*, wife to *Reymond* Earl of *Foix*.

The Earl *Reymond* of *Thoulouse*, died of a sickness, much lamented by his subjects, if ever man was. He was just, gentle, valiant and courageous ; but yet too easy in giving ear unto those that gave him counsel for his ruin. He was carried at the first by a true love and charity only towards those his subjects, that made profession of the religion of the *Albigenses* ; but afterwards having been basely and dishonourably handled by the Legates of the Pope, he knew both the cruelty of the Priests, and the falsehood of their doctrine, by those conferences that had been in his presence with the Pastors of the *Albigenses*.

The

The Historian of *Languedoc*, saith, That he died a sudden death, and that he was carried into the house of the Friars of the Hospital St. *John*, and that he was not buried, because he was an excommunicated person.

As touching the Earl *Reymond of Foix*, he was a Prince of whom History gives this testimony, that he was a pattern of justice, clemency, prudence, valour, magnanimity, patience, and continency; a good warrior, a good husband, a good father, a good house-keeper, a good governor; worthy to have his name honoured, and his virtues remembered throughout all generations, When this good Prince saw that he was about to change earth for Heaven, he defied death with an assured constant courage, and took comfort in forsaking the world, and the vanities thereof; and calling his son *Roger* unto him, he exhorted him to serve God, to live virtuously, to govern his people like a father, under the obedience of his laws, and so gave up the ghost. His wife, the Lady *Philippe of Moncade*, followed him shortly after, not without suspicion of poison, by some domestic enemy of the *Albigenses*, whose religion she professed with all devotion. A Princess of a great and admirable prudence, faith, constancy, and loyalty. She uttered before her death many excellent sentences, full of edification, and in contempt of death, which she received with a marvellous grace; fortifying her speeches with most

Christian consolations, to the great comfort and edification of all that were present, and in this state she exchanged this life for a better.

CHAP. XV.

Almaric the son of Montfort restores to King Lewis the eighth, the conquered Countries of the Albigenſes.

ALMARIC had not the fortune of his father in the wars of the *Albigenſes*. For he had neither King *Philip*, who permitted the levy of pilgrims, nor Pope *Innocent* the third, to appoint them. Moreover, there was neither city nor village in *France*, where there were not widows and fatherless children, by reason of the wars of the *Albigenſes*. And besides all this, the Prelates were many times put into great fears, by those cruel combats that were ordinarily made, and many of them left behind them their mitres, and some Abbots their crosses. The talk of the expeditions of the cross was not so common. This was the cause why *Almaric* did not long enjoy his conquered countries, wherewith being much afflicted, he went into *France*, and delivered up to *Lewis* the eighth, King of *France*, all the right that he had to the said countries, which the Councils of *Vaur*, *Montpelier*, and *Loirac* had granted unto him; and in recompence thereof, King *Lewis* created him Constable of *France*, in the year 1224.

To

To put himself in possession, King *Lewis* came into *Languedoc*, and coming to the gates of *Avignon*, he was denied entrance ; because the citizens professing the religion of the *Albigenses*, had been excommunicated, and given by the Pope to the first conqueror. The King being much moved with this denial, resolved to besiege it, which continued for the space of eight months, in the end whereof they yielded themselves about Whitfuntide, in the year 1225,

During this siege, almost all the cities of *Languedoc*, acknowledged the King of *France*, by the mediation of *Melin*, Archbishop of *Narbonne*. The King established for governor in *Languedoc*, *Imbert de Beauieu*, and took his way to *France* : but he died by the way at *Montpensier*, in September, in the year 1226.

The young *Reymond*, Earl of *Tboulouse*, was bound by promise to the King, to go to receive his absolution of Pope *Honorius*, and afterwards he should give him peaceable possession of all his lands ; but the death of the King in the mean time happening, he saw the realm of *France*, in the hands of *Lewis* the ninth, a child in his minority, and the regency in the power and government of his mother. He thought that having to deal with an infant King, and a woman regent, he might recover by force, that which he had yielded by agreement. He therefore resolved to take arms, being encouraged thereunto, by the succours of the *Albigenses* his subjects, who were in great hopes to

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maintain

maintain their part in strength and vigour, during the minority of the King of *France*, but they were deceived in their project. For though *Lewis* the ninth was in his minority, yet he was so happy as to have a wife and prudent mother, if ever there were such. For King *Lewis* the eighth, before his death, had appointed her the tutorefs of his fon, and regent of the realm; knowing very well her great capacity and fufficiency. Befides, *Imbert de Beauieu* maintaining the authority of the King in *Languedoc*; took arms, and made oppofition againft the Earl *Reymond*, and the *Albigenfes*. The Queen fent him divers troops, by the help whereof he recovered the caftle *de Bontegue*, near to *Thouloufe*. All the *Albigenfes* that were found within the caftle were put to death; and a certain Deacon, with others who would not abjure their religion, by the command of *Melin* the Pope's Legate, and the advice of *Guyon*, Bifhop of *Carcaffonne*, were burnt alive, in the year 1227, fuffering death with admirable conftancy.

The more the perfecution increafed, the more the number of the *Albigenfes* multiplied; which *Imbert* of *Beauieu* perceiving, he went to the court to let them know, that without fuccours, he could no longer defend the country, and the places newly annexed to the crown and patrimony of *France*, againft the *Albigenfes*, and the Earl *Reymond*. In the mean time whilft he was abfent, the Earl *Reymond* took the caftle *Sarrazin*,

razin, one of the strongest places that *Imbert* had, and keeping the field did much hurt to his enemies.

Imbert came from *France*, at the spring of the year 1228, accompanied with a great army of the Cross, in which there were the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Archbishop of *Aouch* and *Bourdeaux*, each with the pilgrims of their jurisdiction.

The Earl *Reymond* retired himself into *Thoulouse*, where he was presently shut up, and all the country round about, and even the harvest was all spoiled and wasted. Being brought to this extremity, the Abbot of *Grandfelue*, named *Elias Garin*, came from *Melin*, the Pope's Legate, to offer peace to the Earl *Reymond* and the *Thoulousians*. He was received with great joy, offering peace and plenty to those that were almost famished, and wearied with war. Nevertheless, the wisest amongst them, who better foresaw the event of things, knew well enough, that so soon as they had got the Earl *Reymond* into their hands, they would make use of him to persecute them; that they would establish the Inquisition, and kindle their fires again, and so utterly destroy them both bodies and souls: but the reasons of those men were overcome by the importunate cries of the common people, almost famished. Besides, the enemies wanted not people in *Thoulouse*, that were willing to terrify the Earl *Reymond*; saying, that he was not now to deal with *Almaric* of *Montfort*, but with a King of *France*,
who

who had power sufficient to overthrow him: that continual fevers kill men, and long wars would at the last bury them all. The Earl *Reymond* promised the Abbot to be on a certain day at *Vasieges*, there to resolve upon what was to be done to bring the peace to a perfection. In the mean time a truce was agreed upon with the *Thoulousians*, for certain days. The Earl *Reymond* came at the day to the place appointed, and so did the Abbot of *Grandfelue*. After much discourse touching a peace, the Abbot made him believe, that it would be for his greater advantage to be in *France*, than in that place; and that forasmuch as the business concerned the King, it was necessary that the Queen-mother being tutorefs unto him, and regent of *France*, should be present; and that more would be done in a few days, than in a whole year, the business requiring so many journies and goings and comings, which peradventure would be long and unprofitable: and so pledged his faith that hereby he should receive due satisfaction. Being vanquished by these promises, he consented to come into *France*, whithersoever the Queen-mother should appoint. *Meaux* was the place she made choice of, and his time was appointed. He came thither, but he was no sooner arrived, but he repented, and acknowledged his great oversight, in that he had given credit to the words of a Priest; especially, knowing that his deceased father, always sped so ill by trusting those who held this for a maxim, that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*.

Hereticks, or their favourers. That he being held for such a one, had no reason to look for better success.

There was therefore now no more question of treaties or communications, but of submission to whatsoever should be enjoined him. He had now no longer freedom of speech, but he was carefully guarded, for fear lest he should fly to the *Albigenses*. The Historian of *Languedoc*, though in other matters much animated against the *Albigenses*, yet he could not write of this without commiseration, so lamentable was the condition of this Lord. These are his words:

“ It was a lamentable thing to see so brave a man,
 “ that was able for so long a time, to make resistance
 “ against so many people, to come in his shirt and his
 “ linen breeches, bare-foot to the Altar, in the pre-
 “ sence of two Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*,
 “ the one the Legate in *France*, the other the Legate
 “ in *England*.”

C H A P. XVI.

The Articles of the treaty of the Earl Raymond of Thoulouse.

IT was an easy matter to finish this treaty, because the Articles were proposed to the Earl *Raymond*, with this condition, that they should be signed by himself without reply.

Article

Article 1. That after the Earl *Reymond*, shall ask pardon, according to the order appointed, that is to say, bare-headed, bare-foot, in his shirt, with a torch in his hand, for all that he had done against the Church; he shall promise to defend the faith, and drive away all Hereticks, out of his lands and territories.

2. That he shall pay to the Church so long as he liveth, every year, three marks of silver.

3. That he shall give immediately, six thousand marks of silver for the reparation of the cities, castles, and houses, which had been either by himself, or his father, destroyed and ruined during the wars past.

4. That he should give for the repair of Monastries, and the maintenance and nourishment of the Monks of *Cisseaux*, two thousand marks of silver.

5. For the Monks of *Clervaux*, five hundred marks of silver.

6. For those of *Grandfelue*, and the reparation of their Monastery, a thousand marks of silver.

7. For the Church of *Belle Perche*, three hundred marks of silver.

8. For the reparation of the castle *Narbonne*, six thousand marks of silver, and that the Legate should keep it for ten years in the name of the Church.

9. For

9. For the maintenance of four Masters in Divinity, two Doctors of the Canon Law, two Masters of Arts and two Grammarians, the sum of four thousand marks of silver.

10. That he should take the Cross, at the hands of the Legate, to make war against the *Turks* and *Saracens*; and should go to *Rhodes*, where he should stay for the space of five years, from whence he should bring a certificate from the great Master of *Rhodes*.

11. That from thenceforward, he should caterprise nothing against the Church.

12. That he should make war against the Earl of *Foix* and his allies, never making peace with them but by the leave of the Legate.

13. That he should overthrow and demolish, all the walls, towers, and fortresses of *Thoulouse*, as the Legate shall ordain and appoint.

14. That he should utterly destroy, thirty-five cities or castles, which should be named unto him by the Legate, and which he should not rebuild without his leave.

15. That for the accomplishment of all this, he is to yield himself prisoner at the *Louvre* in *Paris*, into the hands of the King, from whence he should not depart, until he had first caused a daughter of his to be brought

brought to *Carcassonne*, and committed to the custody of the King, in the hands of such as shall be deputed thereunto.

16. That he should likewise deliver to the said Legate, the castle *Narbonne*, and the other places; and cause the walls of the city, that are over against the castle *Narbonne* to be demolished, and the ditches that are betwixt them to be filled up, to the end that a man may pass and repass freely without fear; and that all this should be done, before he went out of prison, All which being performed, the Legate gave him his absolution and delivered it in writing.

The Reader may judge, how great the troubles and afflictions of this Prince were: But this was but the beginning of miseries to the poor *Albigenses*; for from hence did the great persecution proceed, whereby they were utterly rooted out, as will appear hereafter.

The subjects of the Earl *Reymond* being advertised of this dishonourable and disadvantageous treaty of their Lord, were much displeased and grieved therewith, to see themselves upon the very brink of total destruction; because that thereby their own Lord was bound to do his best for their extirpation, and they saw besides that a new heir was their sworn enemy.

“First, for the more easy payment of those sums,
 “which he was bound to pay to the Convents, and
 “others,

“ others, they bind him to oblige every one of his sub-
 “ jects, who makes profession of the belief of the *Albi-*
 “ *genses*, to furnish him with a mark of silver; and
 “ that they who persisted in their religion, should be
 “ punished and condemned to death, their goods con-
 “ fiscated, their last wills and testaments to be of no
 “ force: so that neither their children nor any of their
 “ kindred should ever recover their inheritance; and
 “ that their houses should be utterly destroyed.

“ Item, he ordaineth, that all they that shall deny
 “ the Inquisitors their houses, granges and woods; or
 “ shall defend the Hereticks, and refuse to give aid
 “ and assistance to the Inquisitors; or to defend them
 “ when they shall require it; or shall not use their best
 “ endeavours to keep those that are taken by the In-
 “ quisitors, shall be corporally punished, and their
 “ goods confiscated.

“ Item, that they who are suspected of heresy,
 “ shall swear to live in the Catholic faith, and abjure
 “ their heresy; and if they shall refuse to do it, they
 “ shall endure the same punishment that the Hereticks
 “ do. That if after the oath taken, it doth appear,
 “ that they have received, favoured, or counselled
 “ any Heretick, they shall undergo the punishment
 “ that the Council hath ordained.

“ Item, we ordain, saith he, that if it shall appear
 “ that any who hath offended, shall die an heretick,

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“ and

“ and that it shall be lawfully proved before the Bishop
 “ that all his goods be confiscated, and that the
 “ houses wherein they shall inhabit, after the treaty of
 “ peace made at *Paris*, or shall dwell in hereafter,
 “ shall be utterly razed.”

Thus you see what they constrained the Earl *Reymond* to do, and to seal, and at the same time they began to destroy and overthrow by piecemeal, those they never could conquer, being united together.

Moreover, to give the better authority to the Inquisition, they called a Council at *Thoulouse*, in the year 1229, whereat the Archbishop of *Narbonne*, and divers other Bishops and Prelates were present ; wherein amongst other articles that were concluded upon, this one shews by what spirit these Prelates were led.

“ *We forbid, say they, the permission of the books of*
 “ *the old and new Testament to all Lay-people, except*
 “ *peradventure they may have the Psalter, or some Bre-*
 “ *viary for the divine office, or the Prayer-book of the*
 “ *blessed Virgin Mary for devotion. Forbidding expressly*
 “ *that they should have the said books turned into the vulgar*
 “ *tongue.*”

Lewis the ninth, made also statutes, conformable to those of the Earl *Reymond*, as also did the Emperor *Frederic*, all proceeding from one source, and he that has seen one, hath seen all.

Now

Now after the treaty made with the Earl *Reymond*, he remained a prisoner until the payment of the sums specified; and in the mean time, *Peter de Colmeiu*, Vice-Legate, took his journey to *Thoulouse*, to bring the city under the obedience of the King, and caused the walls to be razed, and the towers to be beaten down, to the end they might have no more means to rebell against the King. He brought likewise to the Queen-mother, *Joan*, the only daughter of the Earl *Reymond*, being nine years of age, to the end she might be brought up with her, until she were of years sufficient to marry *Alphonfus*, brother to King *Lewis*. The removal of this young Princess did greatly afflict the subjects of the Earl *Reymond*; for seeing that this change of dominion would bring with it, an alteration of their peace, as it came to pass.

C H A P. XVII.

The Earl Reymond of Thoulouse, soliciteth the Earl of Foix, to range himself under the obedience of the Pope.

THE Earl *Foix*, of *Comming*, and the Prince of *Bearn*, were yet to be conquered, or won by art. The Legate *Colmeiu* thought the Earl *Reymond* a fit instrument to affect the latter of the two, and therefore he commanded him to write to the Earl of *Foix*, *That he should follow his example, or resolve miserably to perish.* He wrote to him in loving terms:

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That

That the union that had always been betwixt their houses, did bind him to procure their good as his own ; that if he did not yield himself into the bosom of the Church of Rome, he saw such a tempest like to fall upon him, that it must overthrow him. He likewise entreated him to procure the like submission from the Earl of Comming, and the Prince of Bearn.

The answer of the Earl of Fain was, That he could not forsake his party, at a time wherein he should give men occasion to think that he had more fear than reason ; and that it was necessary in a change, such as they expected of him, that the truth should overcome him, and not the allurements of promises, nor the violence of arms.

The Earl *Reymond* was not satisfied with this answer, much less the Legate, who found another way to win him ; and that was, that there were within his lands and territories, subjects of his, who being frighted with an apprehension of their ruin, should entreat him to have compassion both of himself and his poor subjects, who would be overthrown by this last violence. And at the very same time, he caused the Earl of *Thoulouse* to write to the principal men of the territories of the Earl of *Faix* ; that there was an excellent opportunity offered their Lord, if he made not himself unworthy thereof by his obstinacy : that it was the only means to make them live in perfect peace ; that they should persuade him, whilst the occasion and time served, before the expedition of the Cross were on foot.

The

The subjects of the Earl of *Foix*, partly for their own interests, and partly for fear, lest their Lord, being stricken in years, without wife and children, should leave them to the mercy of the first conqueror, if he should depart this life without a lawful heir; they joined together in humble supplication to their Lord, and obtained by their requests and tears, that which the Earl of *Thoulouse* could not by threats, prayers nor promises; for he promised them that he would treat with the Legate, for their peace and contentment.

The Pope was advertised of the intention of the Earl of *Foix*, and therefore he joined with the first Legate in the Earldom of *Foix* another, namely, the Cardinal of *St. Ange*, accompanied by the Archbishop of *Narbonne*, the Bishop of *Couferans*, and *Peter de Thalamas*, the Legate's Lieutenant, and divers others. Being arrived at *St. John de Berges*, in the Earldom of *Foix*, there appeared also the Earl of *Foix*, with the nobility and principal men of the land.

The Legate related to the Earl of *Foix*, the great satisfaction the Pope had, to hear that after so many combats and bloody wars, there was hope to finish them in peace: that he was come to conclude and bring it to effect, which was begun in behalf of the Pope; that there remained nothing but to know what his resolution was, and to receive from him the

promises and oaths of fidelity to the Church, which are requisite in such a case.

The Earl Roger replied to the Legate and the rest that were present, as followeth :

I have long since bid rhetoric adieu, having pleaded my cause with engines and spears, which must be my excuse, if like a soldier I utter my intentions. My Cousin, the Earl of Thoulouse, hath procured, for which I thank him, that my enemies will be pleased with reason, to bear the cause of our levies, and why we have taken arms, which to this present would never be granted; us also he desireth we should give over the pursuit of those that desire to wrong us, upon an assurance, saith he, that the King of France shall maintain every one with justice and equity. Truly, I confess, that I never desired any thing more than to maintain my liberty, being as yet in the infancy of my freedom. Our country owes only one simple homage to the Earl of Thoulouse, for raising it to an Earldom, but it acknowledgeth no other master but my myself: and as for the Pope, I never offended him; for he hath never demanded any thing at my hands, as a Prince, in which I have not obeyed him. He is not to intermeddle with my religion, since every man is to have it free. My father hath always recommended unto me this liberty, to the end, that being settled therein, though the heavens shake I might look upon them with a constant and assured countenance, and a persuasion that they could never hurt me. It is not fear that makes me stagger, or yield to your desire, or that constrains me

me to submit myself to your desires ; but being provoked by that benign and generous fear of the miseries of my subjects, the ruin of my country ; the desire not to be accounted malicious, and the fire-brand of France, I yield myself to this extremity ; otherwise I would be as a wall without breach, against the bravest of mine enemies. I give you therefore a gage of my affection, for the good of the peace in general. Take my castles of Foix, Mongaillard, Montreall, Lordat, whilst that I yield him that homage that you demand.

As for the Earl of Comming, and the Prince of Bearn, it was impossible they should stand firm in their resolutions, to make resistance, being destitute of these two props, the Earls of Foix and Thoulouse. For they were but weak, both in money and men. Behold then the end, to the outward appearance, of the *Albigenses*, when in the year 1234, there appeared a natural son of the Earl of Beziers, who took arms for the *Albigenses*, or craved their assistance, to revenge the death of his deceased father : this was *Trancavel*, who as yet had only appeared as a private man, of small importance ; but the *Albigenses* being destitute of all support, they awakened in this soldier, a feeling sense of the outrages done to his father ; deprived of his lands unjustly, betrayed, imprisoned, and poisoned ; they promised him their best assistance. Whereupon he taking the field, said, That he would revenge the death of his father ; and win that by the sword which had been taken from him by injustice. He was assisted by

by a number of valiant captains, all brave leaders, who had a number of men at their command: and before the enemy took any notice of his design, he seized upon the castles of *Montreull*, *Montolieu*, *Limous*, and others.

Melin the Pope's Legate, and Bishop of *Tboulouse*, being much astonished to see those that took part with the *Albigenses*, whom he thought to be utterly buried, spring up again; he had presently recourse to the ordinary means of the Pope and his agents, that is, to cause the pardon of sins to be preached, to whomsoever would fight under the banner of the Cross, a kind of pay of less value, but more common in those times. The Archbishop of *Narbonne* animated also the people of his Diocese, to go and make an end of that poor remainder of the *Albigenses* that were left.

These Priests with their troops, presented themselves before the gates of *Carcaffonne*. The city received them, but when they came to the town, the gates were shut against them. *Melin* made a speech to those that shewed themselves upon the ramparts, telling them, that he was come thither for their preservation.

They thanked him, but told him withall, that if he did not instantly retire himself, they would give him the chase. Upon this conference came *Trancavel*, who set so hotly and valantly upon the troop of pilgrims

grims that accompanied the Legate, that he chased them, beating and killing them, till he came to the gates of the city of *Carcassonne*, and the Legate had enough to do to save himself: but that which offended him most, was, that the gates of the town were opened to *Trancavel*, who lodged there, and made it his principal retreat; from whence he hurt and kindred the pilgrims of the city, in such sort, that they hardly durst come forth of the gates. And whensoever he heard of any troops of pilgrims to come, he went to meet them, laying ambushes for them, and many times overthrew them before they could join themselves to the Legate.

This man kept the field, until the year 1242, because when any pilgrims were required to go against the bastard of the deceased Earl of *Biziers*, every one believed the forces that were levied within the Principality, might suffice for so weak an enemy: but *Melin* wrote to the Pope, that if in good earnest he caused not the expedition of the Cross to be preached in many places in *Europe*, the Church was like to receive a great loss by this last enemy, who had taken part with the *Albigenses*, and was more cruel, and more subtle, than any other who had maintained their cause.

Innocent the fourth, caused the expedition of the Cross to be published in divers parts of *Europe*. *Trancavel* being apprised, that a very great army of pilgrims was prepared to come against him, finding himself not strong

strong enough in the town of *Carcassonne*, retired to *Realmont*, whither the pilgrims followed and besieged him. He courageously resisted them, having many times defeated the pilgrims, in the end *Melin* seeing there was nothing to be obtained of a man, whom he thought fast shut up, entreated the Earl of *Foix* to use his best endeavours, to bring him to some peaceable terms, and to treat with him; which he performed with such success, that he promised never to bear arms either against the Legate or the Church of *Rome*. Here you see the last attempt which we find the *Albigenses* have made, and the last expedition of pilgrims levied against them. All the pursuit against them afterwards, was made by the Monks, the Inquisitors, who kindled their fires more than ever; and so taking this poor people disarmed, and singling them out by retail, it was impossible for them any longer to subsist. And if at any time they happened to set upon the Inquisitors, it was but to give them a more sensible apprehension of their extreme violence, whereof we have a notable example in what follows.

In the year 1243, the Earl *Raymond* having paid his pecuniary penalties, and being returned to his subjects; certain of the country complained of the unjust proceeding of the Inquisitors, who without any difference so intangled all sorts of people, that there were scarce any whom they did not condemn either for Hereticks, or favourers; or kinsfolk, or allies of Hereticks; not being content to proceed against those
that

that made public profession of the belief of the *Albigenses*, in such sort, that under the cloak of the Inquisition office, they committed strange robberies. This accusation against the Inquisitors was before the Earl *Reymond*, in the presence of five Inquisitors, and four officers of the Inquisition, in the Diocese of *Toulouse*.

The Inquisitors would reply, and frame their indictments against those that had thus accused them; to the impeachment of their honour, terrifying them with threats; which made those that had thus moved their patience, to enter into consideration with themselves, that since they must fall into the snare of the said Inquisitors, and so be utterly undone, it was better for them to deliver themselves this once, and that they should teach others to carry themselves more advisedly. So growing still more eager and violent in their discourse, they came to blows. But the Inquisitors and their officers were overmatched, for nine were slain, namely, five Monks, and four officers.

The Earl *Reymond* made it manifest, that he was no way consenting to this riot; for he made an exact search and enquiry after the authors of this sedition, but he could not free himself from suspicion. The same Historian saith, that the atrocity of the fact, constrained the authors to take arms, and to begin again a kind of war; but there is not any other writer that makes mention thereof. Pope *Innocent* the ninth, came

came to *Lyons* about that time, and sent out his thunder-bolts against the murderers, and did not look upon the Earl *Raymond* with a good countenance, who was uncivilly rejected in that request which he made to him, touching a dispensation for the marriage of his cousin *Beatrice*, daughter of the Earl *Beranger*, of *Provence*.

The same Historian saith, that in the year 1247, the Earl *Raymond* took his journey to *Rome*, that he might be permitted to bury the bones of his father in holy ground, but it was denied him, because he died an excommunicated person. He likewise saith, that in the year 1249, when the Earl *Raymond* purposed to take his voyage to *Rhodes*, he died at *Milan* of a fever.

The change of their Lord altered the condition of the *Albigenses*; for the Earl *Raymond* being dead, *Alphonfus*, brother to the King *St. Lewis*, took possession of all the lands, goods, and revenues of the said Earl, and consequently all that ill will that the Pope and other ecclesiastical persons bore to the house of the Earl of *Thoulouse* died. And as touching the places which he was to yield up in the treaty, there needed nothing more to be said, because *Alphonfus* being free from all suspicion of heresy; he peaceably enjoyed whatsoever belonged to him. But one hand washeth another, and therefore as by those wars which the Church undertook against the Earl of *Thoulouse*, *Alphonfus* was become

some master of the goods of the Earl *Raymond*, so was bound to do his best, that the Pope might be honoured in his territories. For this cause he strengthened the Inquisition, and Pope *Alexander* the fourth, authorized the said Inquisition by letters, which are still extant.

The continuance of this persecution, by the said Inquisition is proved in the year 1264, by the constitutions of Pope *Clement* the fourth. Also in the year 1276, under *John* the twenty-second, they were persecuted with all manner of rigour. And by the record which followeth, it appeareth that in the year 1281, under *Martin* the fourth, there was a persecution moved in the quarters of *Albi*, where at that time a great number made profession of the religion of the *Albigenses*.

An EXTRACT of the RECORD.

“ **W**E *William de Gourdan*, Captain, and President of *Carcassonne* and *Beziers*, do make
 “ known unto all men, that we command in the name
 “ of our most excellent Lord *Philip*, by the grace of
 “ God, King of *France*; near the castle of *Lombes*,
 “ in the Diocese of *Albi*, called *Realmont*, for the
 “ exaltation of the Catholic Faith, and the extirpation
 “ of all wicked heresies, and the benefit of our Lord
 “ the King, and his subjects, that the dens and lurking
 “ corners, of all that either join in the belief with
 D d “ Hereticks,

“ Hereticks, or favour them, to be quite rooted out
 “ of this Colony all at once, and that by the com-
 “ mand and authority of the King.

“ And as for the innumerable number of children
 “ of Hereticks and fugitives, because the perversion
 “ of Hereticks is so damnable, that we are not only
 “ to punish themselves but their posterity; we ordain
 “ that the children of Hereticks which of their own
 “ will and free motion, shall not be reduced, forsak-
 “ ing their errors, to the purity of the Catholick
 “ Faith, and the unity of the Church, shall not be
 “ admitted to the city of *Realmont*, or the territory
 “ thereof in any sort whatsoever, to any place of hon-
 “ our or public office. Which shall likewise be observed
 “ against the fugitives for heresy, who before their
 “ departure shall not of their own accord willingly be
 “ reclaimed. Also they that shall give credit unto
 “ Hereticks, concealing them or favouring them, after
 “ they are made known and declared to be such by
 “ the Church, shall be banished for ever from the city
 “ of *Realmont*; and all their goods confiscated, and
 “ their children wholly excluded from all honours and
 “ public dignities, except some one amongst them do
 “ make known such Hereticks, and do join in the
 “ search and inquisition of them.”

Thus you see the very last instrument which hath
 come to hand for the proof of the persecution against
 the *Albigenses*. Though it be very certain, that they
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have been continually persecuted by the Inquisition, though their enemies could never prevail so far against them, but that they still lay hid like sparks under the ashes, desiring once again to see that which their posterity had enjoyed; that is, the liberty to call upon God in purity of conscience, without any constraint, and so secretly instructed their children in the service of God, that the fruit of their piety might take life again, when it should please the Lord that the light of his Gospel should appear amongst them once more. And many of those places that had made profession of the faith of the *Albigenses*, have received with greediness, the doctrine of the Gospel, namely, the city of *Realmont*, where the preceding thunder-bolts were darted; and notwithstanding that great distance of time, during which they appeared not, yet the eternal God hath not given over his work; but to make manifest that he can preserve his faithful, even in the midst of the confusion of Babylon, as diamonds in rubbish, wheat amongst the straw, or gold in the midst of the fire. And notwithstanding the instruction hath not passed from the father to the son, until the time of the reformation, yet the goodness of God ceaseth not to be wonderful, in that many of those places, where this first dew of God's grace hath fallen, have been abundantly enriched with his heavenly benedictions in these latter times; an excellent provocation to oblige them to love the truth which hath been freely manifested unto them, and to bring forth fruits worthy thereof. As it should be an extreme grief to those places that

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have neglected and rejected it, that God hath abandoned them and left them to their own darkness which they loved, and suffering those to perish in their error who have preferred it before the truth.

I have now given the best account I can of those ancient reformers, and sufferers in the cause of pure and undefiled religion; and although they were called by two names, viz. *Waldenses*, and *Albigenses*, yet these were the same in doctrine and discipline, and only their local situation occasioned their being called by different appellations; and after the final subduing of all those Princes who had taken up arms in their defence, they appear to have gone under one name only, that of *Waldenses*. How long they existed before the year 1150 no one can ascertain; but it is judged they never were corrupted with the errors of Popery, and very likely might lie concealed in those remote valleys for several centuries; and the wars which were perpetually raging from the fourth century till the beginning of the twelfth, might be in their favour. Moreover, their numbers would continually increase which must unavoidably discover them; nay, if, as several writers affirm, above a million of them were destroyed in *France* alone, they must have been a prodigious multitude.

It appears, not only from the above History, but from every testimony which we meet with, either in sacred or profane History, that pure religion, like
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the sun, let it shine in whatever age or country it is exactly the same; yea, whatever form it may accidentally assume, or whatever name it may go by it is still invariably love to God and man; and this love must evidence itself by its fruits and effects. It is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated; without partiality and without hypocrisy. It is love, joy, peace, gentleness, meekness, goodness, fidelity: like sterling gold, mould it into what form you will, its intrinsic value, its inherent worth is still the same; not four wrangling, not dealing every thing into noise and dispute; but consists in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. It replaces every thing in its proper order; the husband, the wife, the parent, the child; the master, the servant, the subject, the buyer, the seller, the borrower, the lender; all like the different members of the body, or the wheels in a machine, are acting in concert each in their proper place. Now this is really the case where Christ reigns, where true religion influences the soul; and such the religion of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* appears to have been.

We see the carnal, persecuting spirit is in every age and in every description of people the same, whether they be called Jews or Gentiles, Papists or Mahometans, yea, Protestants or any other name; and indeed I am sorry that I am obliged to number the last denomination among those who have shed the blood of the Saints.*

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* See A Defence of Liberty of Conscience, Page 19, 20

But names signify very little; for the furies made mention of in the preceding History, were all called by his name who came not to destroy men's lives but to save them; they were called Christians. But depend on it a persecuting spirit can never proceed from the Prince of Peace; no, it proceeds from the old murderer; it is the carnal mind which is enmity against God. Such are of the world, and the love of the Father is not in them. But shew me a national religion which has not been a national tyranny. Point out its name, its country, its principles. It cannot be; the very nature of it, its principles, frame and structure are all worldly, and therefore in the aggregate cannot belong to him whose kingdom is not of this world. Christ alone is the head of his church, and it can admit of no other, nor of any more, for that would be to make his body a monster; and therefore to set up any other head over his church is absurd, as it turns it into a mere state machine, yea turns the house of God into a den of thieves. From hence proceed human traditions, dogmas, creeds, acts of uniformity; all of which suit the pride of arrogant men who wish to lord it over the consciences of their fellow creatures, and which have made dreadful havock amongst the human race. Reader, step out of this bloody rank, it belongs to the great antichrist; come not thou into the assembly of such, be not united to them. If thou hast the love of thy Saviour in thy heart thou wilt learn of him; he was meek and lowly, peaceable and gentle, extending his munificent hands

hands to all who were willing to receive his help. He set up no inquisitions, no persecuting courts, nor has he left the smallest countenance of any thing of the kind ; he exercised no lordly dominion in the world ; no, he was poor and despised in the world, and intimated to his servants that they must not aspire at greater things than their master ; but as the world hated him so it would hate them, seeing they were called to testify that its deeds were evil.

But who were the prime authors and fomenters of the persecutions which tormented those early reformers? We see they were ecclesiastics. The Princes would have been easy, and glad that their subjects might have remained unmolested ; but they were not suffered to remain in peace ; for if they refused to persecute, the Priests were stirring up all the world against them as Hereticks, or favourers of such ; and the Pope's thunder-bolts were discharged with an unsparing hand, insomuch that they were compelled to become the tools of church tyranny, though very much contrary to their inclinations. What numbers that raging fury, *Dominic*, sent into eternity by various studied torments in the inquisition, which he was the horrid inventor of, must be reserved for the great day to unfold ; when that noble army of martyrs must appear against him, with their scars and mutilated bodies, testifying what tortures they were constrained to endure from the inhuman influence of that tool of Satan.

England

England has not wanted instruments of the same bloody shape. We have had a *Bonner*, a *Gardiner*, a *Laud*, a *Sacheverell*, who have extended their sanguine influence as far as it would go in the same red line; and if we may judge by the cast of many, they are as ready now as those were in times past to rack, tear and destroy all such as sincerely call upon the name of God in spirit and truth.

We see it is not by the sword that our Lord maintains his cause; no, the weapons of our warfare must not be carnal but spiritual, mighty through grace in pulling down the strong holds of sin and Satan. Nor though it must be confessed that oppression makes a wise man mad, and rulers ought to govern with equity and justice; yet still the work of God is not carried on by human might or power; for we see in the preceding History that several Princes took up arms in defence of those oppressed and worried sheep of Christ, and for a time made a stand against their oppressors; and multitudes of those poor deluded pilgrims, who came to earn Paradise by destroying, lost their lives; yet in the end they were vanquished, so that they found the truth of our Saviour's words, *They that take the sword, shall perish by the sword*. The sword may prove a kind of a pioneer to smooth the way for the gospel of Christ, but it never was, and never will be the instrument of saving sinners. We find the Princes of *Germany* withstood the Emperor, the champion of the Pope; but although they struggled for a time yet

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in the end they were subdued. The same happened to the persecuted people in *Scotland* in the infamous reign of *Charles* the second; and it was pretty much the case with the Huguenots in *France*; so that however instrumental the sword may be, in a remote sense; yet it is not the direct instrument of propagating the Kingdom of our God. No, it is the sword which proceeds out of his mouth; it is the breath of his mouth, and the brightness of his appearing which shall prevail; and his servants must overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony. The sword will undoubtedly make way for the Gospel by cutting off multitudes who will not be reformed themselves, and if not taken out of the way would hinder the conversion of others. I have, some time since ventured to declare my thoughts upon that subject,* and I am more and more convinced daily of the reality of the same. But observe, wars are like the refiner's fire, which only consumes the dross, that the pure bullion may come forth. As the Psalmist says, *Thou puttest away all the wicked of the earth like dross.* (a) Just like the clearing away ruins and rubbish, that a good foundation may be laid, and a fair structure erected, a Palace for the King of Glory. The Church has been like the burning bush, (b) though in flames, yet not consumed, because *Jehovah* was in it. So many times when men have thought all would come to nought God has interposed; and often by means and instruments the most unlikely he has revived his own cause.

* Discourses on the Millennium, vide Sermon xi.

(a) Psalm cxix. 119. (b) Exodus iii. 2.

Such

THE HISTORY OF, &c.

Such was the case with those sufferers whose History I have been tracing out of oblivion. For although they were destroyed by all kinds of torments, yet their blood was like the sowing of seed, it sprung up again : so that light was communicated from them throughout all *Europe*, and by other instruments in succession ; as *John Huss*, *Jerom of Prague*, in *Bohemia* ; *Luther* in *Germany* ; *Zuinglius* in *Switzerland* ; *Calvin* in *France*, and *Wickliffe* in *England* ; *Wishart* and *Knox* in *Scotland*, and many others in order till our Gospel-day. O may we improve our seasons, and while we have light may walk in the light, so that darkness may never overtake us.

I have in the preceding History, been sparing in describing the various and horrid engines of torture and torment made use of by the inquisitors and others to wear out and destroy those Saints of the most High. as such infernal inventions often shock the feelings of those whose sensibility is very acute ; and such as wish to see or find any sort of entertainment in things of that nature, may see enough in the different Martyrologies, the various Histories of the Inquisition, the Massacres of *Paris* and *Ireland*, or *Wodrow's* sufferings of the Church of *Scotland*, or in his *Abridger Crooksbank*.

To close. May we follow those primitive reformers as they followed their Saviour, in purity, in meekness, in patience, in long-suffering, in faith unfeigned, in sincerity and truth ; so that in the end, we may like them, receive the end of our faith, the Salvation of our Souls !

F I N I S.

